

The copyright of this thesis rests with the University of Cape Town. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

PERPETRATORS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: MEN'S EXPERIENCES IN THE WESTERN CAPE

Matthew Ramsey Daniel DNLMAT001

A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree
of

Master of Social Sciences (MSocSci) in Psychology

Faculty of the Humanities

University of Cape Town

July 2009

COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

DEDICATION

To my four pillars of strength,

Beth, Hazel, Tamarind and Joey

Thank you for turning my life upside down with your
kindness, love and support throughout this project.

University of Cape Town

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A note of thanks to the following:

Dr Floretta Boonzaier, University of Cape Town, for supervising this work.

Thank you for your patience and guidance for the duration of this project and beyond.

It was a pleasure to have worked with you.

The University of Cape Town, the Western Cape Education Department and Hazel Tappan, for their contributions to funding this project.

The Family and Marriage Society of South Africa for their assistance in making this project a reality. Also, to the facilitators of the Men Stopping Violence Programme for their contributions and support.

The University of Cape Town Library Staff, Beth Daniel and Elizabeth Trew, for their assistance with the referencing and editorial work.

Finally, to the men who shared their stories with me.

ABSTRACT

This study explored male perpetrators' understanding and experience of domestic violence in the Western Cape. The literature highlights the severe impact and cost of domestic violence on a global scale. Previous studies, particularly in South Africa, have focused on women victims, couples, or the prevalence of domestic violence with there being few studies focused specifically on perpetrators. A pro-feminist approach was used to understand men's use of violence. Within this framework, a qualitative methodological approach was used to explore, describe and interpret the data. Interviews were conducted with 12 male perpetrators of domestic violence, and the interpretive phenomenological analytical approach was employed to analyse the data. The findings are similar to studies which have taken place in other countries. Men used denial, justification, remorse and dissociation when they referred to their violent behaviour. To a large degree, they adhered to patriarchal codes of masculinity where control over their partners was permissible and justifiable. Men identified the legal system as biased; limited treatment resources; and a general understanding that the legislation was not supportive. They constructed themselves as victims rather than perpetrators. Three recommendations for further research are highlighted. Firstly, treatment options for perpetrators may need to be reviewed in the context of their content. Secondly, there should be a youth focus through preventative programmes which address the intergenerational use of violence. And lastly, the legislation in South Africa should be challenged and amended in order to address rehabilitation options for perpetrators of domestic violence.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	I
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	II
ABSTRACT	III
 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE.....	 1
1.1 AN INTRODUCTION TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA.....	1
1.2 THE REALITY: PREVALENCE OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE.....	1
1.3 THE PRICE OF ABUSE	3
1.4. PERPETRATORS AND LEGISLATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.....	5
1.5 TREATMENT OPTIONS FOR MEN IN CAPE TOWN	6
1.6 WHY FOCUS ON MALE PERPETRATORS	9
1.7 OUTLINE OF THESIS.....	10
 CHAPTER TWO: UNDERSTANDING VIOLENT MEN.....	 11
2.1 THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO UNDERSTANDING MEN’S VIOLENCE	11
2.1.1 <i>Psychological-individual factors</i>	11
2.1.1.1 Summary of psychological-individual factors.....	15
2.1.2 <i>Sociological-interpersonal factors</i>	16
2.1.2.1 Summary o f sociological-interpersonal factors	20
2.1.3 <i>Socio-cultural context</i>	21
2.1.3.1 Interchanges between culture and feminism.....	22
2.1.3.2 Masculinity: A culture of control	24
2.1.3.3 The argument of culture or religion.....	26
2.1.3.4 Summary of socio-cultural factors	28
2.1.4 <i>Summary of theoretical approaches to understanding men’s violence</i>	28
2.2 MEN’S RESPONSES TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	29
2.2.1 <i>Summary of men’s responses to domestic violence</i>	32
2.3 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER	33

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	34
3.1 CONNECTIONS: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH AND PRO-FEMINISM.....	34
3.1.1 <i>From start to present: An overview of qualitative research</i>	34
3.1.2 <i>The Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)</i>	38
3.1.3 <i>A pro feminist approach to qualitative research</i>	39
3.2 METHOD	42
3.2.1 <i>Focal research question</i>	42
3.2.2 <i>Sample</i>	43
3.2.3 <i>Data collection</i>	44
3.2.3.1 The research instrument	45
3.2.3.2 Informed consent prior to the interview	46
3.2.3.3 Interview protocol	46
3.2.4 <i>Analysis of the data using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis</i>	47
3.2.5 <i>Ethics for qualitative research</i>	49
3.2.5.1 Research ethics with human subjects	49
3.2.5.2 Establishing validity in qualitative research	51
3.3 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER	53
 CHAPTER FOUR: MEN’S PERSPECTIVES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	 55
4.1 DEFINITIONS OF ABUSE	55
4.1.1 <i>Generic understandings of ‘domestic violence’</i>	55
4.1.1.1 Men’s understanding of physical abuse.....	58
4.1.1.2 Men’s understanding of verbal abuse	62
4.1.1.3 Men’s understanding of financial abuse	63
4.1.1.4 Men’s understanding of emotional abuse	65
4.1.2 <i>Causes of aggression: A combination of triggers and build-ups</i>	67
4.1.3 <i>Section summary: Definitions of abuse</i>	69
4.2 THE CONTEXT OF VIOLENCE.....	71
4.2.1 <i>The individual and family context of abuse</i>	71
4.2.1.1 The social learning of domestic violence	71
4.2.1.2 The stressful work environment	73
4.2.1.3 Poor social support networks.....	74
4.2.1.4 A cocktail of alcohol and drugs.....	75
4.2.2 <i>The cultural context of abuse: An external matter</i>	78
4.2.2.1 Religion: Supportive or permissive	78
4.2.2.2 Violence as the norm.....	81
4.2.3 <i>Section summary: The context of violence</i>	84
4.3 MALE PERPETRATORS: IDENTITIES IN CRISIS.....	85
4.3.1 <i>Changing constructions of identity</i>	85
4.3.1.1 The pre and post abuser.....	86

4.3.2 <i>Constructions of masculine identity</i>	88
4.3.2.1 Who's the boss?	88
4.3.2.2 The male breadwinner	91
4.3.2.3 Women are the weaker gender	93
4.3.2.4 Control over women	94
4.3.2.5 Entitlement to respect	95
4.3.2.6 Entitlement to sex	96
4.3.2.7 Entitlement to multiple sexual partners	98
4.3.3 <i>Men as victims</i>	100
4.3.3.1 The court protection order: Her tool to control	102
4.3.3.2 The biased magistrate	103
4.3.4 <i>Section summary: Male perpetrators - Identities in crisis</i>	105
4.4 CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE INTIMATE RELATIONSHIP	107
4.4.1 <i>Treatment and the intimate relationship</i>	107
4.4.2 <i>Constructions of the female partner</i>	110
4.4.2.1 The lovely wife	111
4.4.2.2 The bad wife	113
4.4.3 <i>Section summary: Constructions of the intimate partner relationship</i>	117
4.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY	118
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION	119
5.1 TREATMENT IMPLICATIONS	121
5.2 LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	126
5.3 AUTHORS NOTE: PERSONAL REFLECTION	128
5.4 FINAL CONCLUSION	129
REFERENCES	131
APPENDICES	148
APPENDIX A: APPOINTMENT ATTENDANCE RECORD	149
APPENDIX B: DEMOGRAPHIC SUMMARY	150
APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE GUIDELINE	151
APPENDIX D: INFORMED CONSENT SESSION PLAN	153
APPENDIX E: INFORMED CONSENT LETTER	156
APPENDIX F: PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT FORM	157
APPENDIX G: DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE	159

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 4.1: PERPETRATORS' POSITIVE DESCRIPTIONS OF THEIR PARTNERS.....	111
TABLE 4.2: NEGATIVE PARTNER DESCRIPTIONS	113
TABLE 5.1: MALE PERPETRATORS UNDERSTANDING OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE.....	122

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 5. 1 CONCEPT MODEL FOR TREATMENT OF MALE PERPETRATORS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN THE WESTERN CAPE	125
--	-----

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Could we learn more about domestic violence through speaking with men who abuse? If we could, how could we use this information to address the global problem of domestic violence? This study explores the world of men who abuse, why they abuse and what their abuse has meant to them.

1.1 An introduction to domestic violence in South Africa

In South Africa, domestic violence is a significant social problem which has recently witnessed an increase in the number of extreme cases that are reported in the media. Such cases include incidents where the victims, usually women, have resorted to murdering their abusers in extreme attempts to escape the abuse (Samodien & Van Der Vort, 2007). Disturbingly, violence against women appears to be on the increase, as one woman is murdered every six hours in South Africa (Matthews, et al., 2004). There is growing recognition in South African and international literature that attention should be focused towards men as the abusers (Gondolf, 2007; Londt, 2004; Reitz, 1999). This study follows the trend of current international and local research on domestic violence and focuses on men's understanding of their own perpetration of violence toward their partners. These understandings are contextualised within broader discourses of control, power and dominance framed within cultural and/or religious contexts.

1.2 The reality: Prevalence of domestic violence

In 2000, the World Health Organisation (WHO) estimated that 30% of all women in the world would experience domestic violence in a relationship (WHO, 2000). In the USA, approximately 1.5 million women per year were beaten by their partners between 1975 and 1985 (Straus & Gelles, 1986). Similarly, in another USA based study (Coker, et al., 2002) comprising 6790 women, 28.9% had experienced physical, sexual or psychological forms of abuse. Therefore, the estimated prevalence

highlighted by the World Health Organisation appears to be ominously accurate. Furthermore, the costs associated with domestic violence are alarming. The American Institute on Domestic Violence (2001) labelled intimate partner violence as the primary cause of injury to women costing \$4.1 billion a year for healthcare to treat the physical and mental consequences of domestic violence. Disturbingly, the costs of domestic violence also affected approximately 17.8 million children, which were either exposed to, or direct recipients of domestic violence each year (Appel & Holden, 1998; Holden, 1998).

Comparatively, South Africa has a population of more than 40 million people, of which it is estimated that five women are killed by their partners each week (Vetten, 1996). In 1998, a community-based study using 1,306 women found that 25% of women in three South African provinces had been assaulted by their intimate partners (Jewkes, Levin, & Penn-Kekana, 2002). Another study in Cape Town found that, of a sample of 1,378 working men, 42.3% reported physical violence towards their women intimate partners (Abrahams, Jewkes, Laubscher, & Hoffman, 2006). This evidence suggests that domestic violence is a pervasive problem in a number of different contexts across South Africa (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Marais, de Villiers, Möller, & Stein, 1999; Usdin, Christofides, Malepe, & Maker, 1998).

It would appear that the majority of the literature on domestic violence is based on studies that have taken place in other countries (Buchbinder & Eisikovits, 2004; Dutton & Corvo, 2007; Gondolf, 2007; Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004). These studies focus on domestic violence prevalence reports (Dutton, Saunders, Starzomski, & Bartholomew, 1994; Straus, 1979; Straus & Gelles, 1986); the experiences of female victims of domestic violence (Dorahy, Lewis, & Wolfe, 2007; Thomas, Joshi, Wittenberg, & McCloskey, 2008); and intervention programmes to address male violence (Dutton & Starzomski, 1997; Pence & Paymar, 1993). It appears that not many studies address the perpetrators' understanding and reasons for their behaviour. Internationally, the literature appears to provide explanations as well as various descriptions of domestic violence. However, missing from existing literature are studies which ask male perpetrators of domestic violence about their experience of domestic violence and their understanding of their abusive behaviour. Some international research has started to address the gap in the literature (Dobash &

Dobash, 2001; Buchbinder & Eisikovits, 2004; Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004). However, in South Africa a limited knowledge base of research on men's experience of domestic violence exists despite its prominent rating on the South African Government's list of priorities.

Some authors have argued that further research should be conducted to understand men's use of violence in their intimate relationships with women partners (Abrahams, et al., 2006; Brown, 2004; Cavanagh, Dobash, Dobash, & Lewis, 2001; Meel, 2006; Wood, 2004). For example, Reitz (1999) suggests that conducting research with male perpetrators may contain important information on preventing abuse within a group or community. Similarly, in South Africa, Meel (2006) highlights the importance of understanding communities in order to implement culture or community sensitive interventions (Dunkle, et al., 2006).

Given the lack of research in this area, this study explores men's understandings and perceptions of domestic violence. More specifically, the study intended on understanding the in-depth meanings of men who have perpetrated violence against their intimate women partners using a sample of men in the Western Cape. This research introduces a better understanding of male perpetrators in the Western Cape; adds to the limited knowledge base of information in South Africa; and recommends further research in treating male perpetrators of domestic violence. The outcome of this study will create awareness of men's understandings of domestic violence in the Western Cape. Such understandings might also be applicable to the general South African context. It is hoped that the finding(s) of the study will also have implications for current and new intervention programmes which address violence against women.

1.3 The price of abuse

There are many risks associated with domestic violence. In 1996, the National Institute of Justice in the United States estimated an annual cost of \$67 billion to society (Miller, Cohen, & Wiersema, 1996). Also in 1996, incidents of domestic violence alone, cost the US Health Care system \$44 million and 100, 000 hospital admissions annually (Easley, 1996). In South Africa, it was found that almost half the

women who had reported abuse had to receive medical attention following incidents of intimate partner violence (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana, Levin, Ratsaka, & Schrieber, 2001). In a Cape Town study of male to female intimate partner violence, using 1,378 men, 21% of the men reported that their partners had received medical attention following a violent episode (Abrahams, et al., 2006). The above studies underline severe health related consequences for victims of domestic violence and potential strain that these consequences place on the public health system and/or private medical health schemes.

Most studies appear to focus on the risks of domestic violence for female victims. The literature highlights additional serious risks which are associated with men's violence against women. Women victims are at increased risk of developing mental health problems and physical injuries (Campbell & Lewandowski, 1997; Stark & Flitcraft, 1996). More specifically, studies have shown that women victims are at increased risk of developing posttraumatic stress disorder (Bean & Möller, 2002; Cortina & Kubiak, 2006; Golding, 1999), depression and anxiety related conditions (Dorahy, et al., 2007).

In South Africa, a study conducted with 1275 men living in a rural town in the Eastern Cape found that men who were violent towards their intimate partners displayed significantly high levels of HIV risk behaviour (Dunkle, et al., 2006). Similarly, other studies (Johnson & Hellerstedt, 2002; Martin, et al., 1999) also highlight findings which associate high risks of sexually transmitted infections with female victims. Hence, the authors of this study argue that women in abusive relationships are at increased risk of contracting HIV/AIDS. Other risks associated with domestic violence include financial difficulties, the effect on children who witness violence and substance abuse (Conger, Reuter, & Elder, 1999; Diamond & Muller, 2004; Douki, Nacef, Belhadj, Bouasker, & Ghachem, 2003; George, Phillips, Doty, Umhau, & Rawlings, 2006; Haj Yahia, 1999; Haj Yahia, 2000a; Jewkes, et al., 2002).

Ultimately, the risks highlighted in the literature appear to affect women victims more than men. However, one study identifies the risk of poor health, depression, substance abuse and chronic disease for both men and women who are in abusive

relationships (Coker, et al., 2002). Therefore it can be argued that while women in abusive relationships are obviously at increased risk, their male counterparts are also substantially affected by domestic violence. Extreme risks, such as the ones mentioned above, highlight the need for serious examination of how perpetrators themselves attached meaning to their experiences with a view to diminishing the risks of violence for both men and women.

1.4. Perpetrators and legislation in South Africa

For the purpose of this study, domestic violence is understood to include physical, sexual, emotional, verbal, psychological and economic abuse, as well as intimidation, stalking and damage to property as defined in the Domestic Violence Act (1998). Similarly, the World Health Organisation (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi, & Lozano, 2002; WHO, 2002) defines intimate partner violence as a global problem in terms of physical and sexual violence against women.

The South African Government introduced the Domestic Violence Act (1998) which was developed and implemented to assist women with all matters pertaining to domestic violence; and the application of court protection orders against their abusers. Notably, court protection orders require the perpetrator to adhere to specific conditions, bail or prison sentences which are set by a magistrate. The Act intends to address issues such as gender-based violence which occurs in every community and work environment as well as acknowledges that domestic violence is an acute social problem in South Africa. Ultimately, the Act also recognises that victims of domestic violence are vulnerable individuals who are sometimes unable to remove themselves from abusive relationships or environments; that domestic violence can occur in a number of forms; and that the scope of domestic violence should include relationships of married and unmarried co-habiting individuals.

However, the Act seemingly fails to recognise one fundamental problem which refers to rehabilitation for perpetrators. Section 7(2) of the Act allows the court to *“impose any additional conditions which it deems reasonably necessary.”* The only additional conditions, which it specifies, include the removal of dangerous weapons

and an escort to assist the complainant (women) regarding the collection of personal property. Surely, if the Act intends on taking domestic violence seriously, it should include clear guidelines on rehabilitation for offenders? In response, it provides guidelines for the application of a court protection order. However, procedural challenges are faced by victims or survivors of domestic violence. The procedure requires that survivors (women) of domestic violence approach the closest magistrate's court or police station where they are able to complete the necessary forms in order to obtain a court protection order. Once these forms have been completed, it is the complainant's responsibility to ensure that a police officer delivers the court protection order to the alleged perpetrator. Complainants (female victims) may also request police officers to take them to a doctor; and for suitable and safe shelter to be found. Evidently, these requests may be affected and delayed through police officers' operational requirements and limited shelters which are available. Ultimately this process places complainants' at risk as they may have to return to an abusive environment. Similarly, it does an injustice by ignoring the potential of rehabilitation for the perpetrator.

In summary, victims of domestic violence in South Africa are vulnerable as current interventions, such as women's refuges, court protection orders and domestic violence support groups may not always be effective in assisting them or their abusive partners. Furthermore, the legislation appears to have failed to encapsulate a holistic approach to preventing domestic violence. Be this as it may, the questions remain: Where can perpetrators go for help? And how much will it this cost them? Therefore, the following section provides a brief overview of treatment options which are available for men in the Western Cape.

1.5 Treatment options for men in Cape Town

Seemingly, not many treatment options for male perpetrators of domestic violence exist (Brown, 2004). Furthermore, legislation which governs domestic violence in South Africa appears to exclude rehabilitation for men and focus on protecting women and children from abuse. A vast literature base and differing recommendations on treating perpetrators exist (Contrino, Dermen, Nochajski, Wiczorek, & Navratil,

2007; Dutton & Corvo, 2007; Ehrensaft, 2008; Gondolf, 2007; Paré, Bondy, & Malhotra, 2006). The Duluth Model (Pence & Paymar, 1993) is a group based programme which appears to dominate the field of treating domestic violence perpetrators.

“The Duluth Model can be categorised as a gender-based cognitive behavioural approach to counselling and/or educating men arrested for domestic violence and mandated by the courts to domestic violence programmes.” (Gondolf, 2007, p.645)

Gondolf (2007) defines gender-based-violence and cognitive behavioural therapy as the foundations of the Duluth Model. Similarly, Contrino, et al. (2007) also place domestic violence in the context of the feminist theoretical framework which underpins the Duluth Model. Gondolf (2007) argues that the content of the Duluth Model has been well established theoretically and through research. He also goes further to mention studies which highlight the success of Duluth Model based interventions (Contrino, et al., 2007; Gondolf, 2002; Gondolf, 2004). Notably, the Duluth Model consists of perpetrator groups. Olivier (S. T. Oliver, personal communication, March 20, 2008), a social worker treating perpetrators of domestic violence, describes how perpetrator groups are designed to change men’s abusive behaviour and beliefs in order to rebuild healthy relationships with their intimate partners. As most perpetrators are men, perpetrator groups consist of only men and facilitators (comprising of men and women) that co-ordinate the group. Typically, a men’s domestic violence group will address how men negotiate with their partners; how they understand their behaviour; control their choice to behave violently; take responsibility for their behaviour; and notice when the abuse occurs and learning how to stop it. Ultimately, Gondolf (2007) accentuates the Duluth Model as effective due to its approach which focuses on confrontation, accountability and dual treatment (for example, a referral to an alcohol rehabilitation).

The Duluth Model has also received criticism in the field of treating domestic violence perpetrators. In other words, some studies suggest that domestic violence groups (i.e. The Duluth Model) for men are ineffective (Babcock, Green, & Robie, 2004; Dutton & Corvo, 2007; Ehrensaft, 2008); and that they do not allow a meaningful relationship to develop with the therapist or group facilitator (Howells, et

al., 2002). Other problems with the Duluth Model include high drop-out rates (Gondolf, 2002) and high re-offence rates (Babcock, Candy, Graham, & Schart, 2007). Conclusively, these studies suggest that domestic violence should be defined and treated as an individual psychopathology. In other words, a more individualistic approach is required (Dutton & Corvo, 2007; Dutton & Nicholls, 2005; Ehrensaft, 2008; Holtzworth-Munroe, Meehan, Herron, Rehman, & Stuart, 2003).

In South Africa there appears to be insufficient treatment options for violent men. In 1989, a non-governmental organisation (NGO) called the Family and Marriage Society of South Africa (FAMSA) introduced a men's domestic violence group in order to address domestic violence in South Africa (S. T. Olivier, personal communication, March 20, 2008). Their approach uses the Duluth Model. Other perpetrator groups have also been identified in South Africa. For example, EngenderHealth and the Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa (as cited in Peacock & Levack, 2004) introduced the Men As Partners Programme (MAP) in 1998. The MAP appeared to have a dual purpose which was to respond to HIV/AIDS and violence against women. In 1992, the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO) also introduced a perpetrator programme which focused on domestic violence and anger management (Londt, 2004). However, in an attempt to verify which institutions offered perpetrator programmes, the author contacted a number of Government Organisations and NGO's in the Cape Town area. A total of 14 institutions were contacted. Disturbingly, few provided a rehabilitation programme specifically for perpetrators, while others provided 'general individual counselling.' By so doing, the point that needs to be made here is that there appears to be a lack of resources and/or treatment options for male perpetrators of domestic violence in the Western Cape. Similarly, other studies have also noted this resource challenge (Jewkes, et al., 2002; Londt, 2004).

In summary, the question of how to improve treatment interventions remains. 'Duluth success' is highlighted by a 90% success rate of no-violence, only 48 months following attending a rehabilitation programme (Gondolf, 2004). Conversely, Edleson and Tolman (1992) suggest that intervention programmes (for perpetrators) such as the one participants in this study attended, appear to be successful with preventing physical abuse but that other forms of abuse begin to take place. In support of this,

increases in psychological abuse following ‘Duluth type interventions’ are identified in other studies (Van Wormer & Bednar, 2002). Therefore, this study suggests that understanding men in the Western Cape and incorporating their experiences into treatment interventions will be important for improving such interventions.

1.6 Why focus on male perpetrators

Thomas, et al. (2008) suggest a pro-feminist approach to understanding intimate partner violence through focusing on men. In other words, conducting research with men may be useful in preventing abuse against women. In support of this, recent studies suggest that research with male perpetrators may contain important and relevant information which could be useful in treating perpetrators of domestic violence (Contrino, et al., 2007). Reitz (1999) proposes that studies of this nature are useful as they may identify men’s self judgements and in-depth themes of self-reflections, which cannot be captured using quantitative methods. Consequently, Pollio, Henley and Thompson (1997) suggest using face-to-face interviews for this task. Similarly, other studies appear to support the need to understand why perpetrators use violence and incorporate their understanding with local variables, such as social norms or cultural practices in order to advance treatment interventions (Eisikovits & Buchbinder, 1997). In South Africa the need for culturally sensitive treatment approaches to domestic violence has also been highlighted (Dunkle, et al., 2006; Meel, 2006), as well as the need to conduct more community based studies (Meel, 2006) and develop further understanding of why men abuse their female partners (Abrahams, et al., 2006).

Consequently, the objectives of this current study are:

- a) Develop an understanding of how men attach meaning to their perpetration of violence against women partners; and
- b) To make recommendations that may inform treatment options for male perpetrators of domestic violence and their female partners.

1.7 Outline of thesis

The prevalence and risks associated with domestic violence on an international level and in South Africa pose great concern. As researchers and clinicians, the objective of studies with male perpetrators of domestic violence should be to understand why they abuse in the first place; and then to use this knowledge to prevent further abuse. This study assumes that local knowledge may also assist with ‘tailor-made treatment interventions,’ which are culturally and/or community sensitive. Therefore, this study attempts to explore deeper levels of understanding which may assist to improve treatment interventions in the Western Cape.

The literature points out many reasons why men abuse their partners. Therefore, theoretical approaches to understanding men’s violence and responses to women are discussed in detail in Chapter Two. Consequently, Chapter Three provides an overview of the feminist theoretical framework which is used in the rationale, foundation, analysis and conclusion of this study. The theoretical framework is followed by the methodology, which outlines a qualitative methodological approach to exploring men’s understanding of their violent behaviour. Chapter Four, the analysis, presents the findings of this study where emerging themes are discussed in detail. In conclusion, Chapter Five summarises the findings and limitations of this study, which are followed by the final recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

UNDERSTANDING VIOLENT MEN

This chapter explores understanding men's use of violence in their intimate relationships. A number of theoretical approaches appear to exist. Similarly, a number of research studies have also identified explanations of how men perceive their violent behaviour. Therefore, this chapter is divided into two sections. The first section explores theoretical approaches to understanding men's violence, while the second section describes the way men understand their violent behaviour.

2.1 Theoretical approaches to understanding men's violence

The literature identifies various reasons why men use violence towards their intimate partners. This section discusses these reasons, which have been grouped into psychological-individual; sociological-interpersonal; and socio-cultural factors.

2.1.1 Psychological-individual factors

Psychological-individual factors are understood to be 'internal states,' such as personality or emotions that may contribute to men's violence toward women partners. A number of psychological-individual factors have also been identified in the literature. These factors which are discussed below include shame; poor attachment patterns; low self esteem; lack of empathy; and anger.

The issue of shame has been postulated as a primary cause of male to female domestic violence (Wallace & Nosko, 1993). A fair amount of literature exists on the association between domestic violence and male shame (Brown, 2004; Rosenbaum & Leisring, 2003; Wallace & Nosko, 1993; Wallace & Nosko, 2003). Ultimately, findings in the literature suggest that domestic violence is about the need for perpetrators to behave aggressively towards their female partners in order to feel good about themselves. Conversely, this also suggests that perpetrators may experience other feelings such as low self esteem and shame. Piers and Singer (1953) define

shame as a sense of failure to attain the ideal concept of the self. Similarly, Kohut and Ornstein (1978) define shame as a result of perceived or actual non-response of attention towards the 'narcissistic self.' Therefore, men whose sense of self had not been 'achieved' or bolstered by their partners experienced shame.

In a different way, Clawson (1999) and Kohut (1972) identify the association of childhood exposure to trauma with shame and ultimately with violence. The shame to which Clawson (1999) and Kohut (1972) refer is related to poor development of the self as a child. As a result, inappropriate needs for ongoing affection or attention develop. It is these inappropriate and ongoing needs for attention, which, if not met by intimate partners, are suggested to result in violent behaviour in order to regain a sense of self. In other words, violence was used to get women to respond in a particular way. Therefore, violence maintained that women 'pay attention' to men and appeared to increase their self esteem. Clawson (1999) and Kohut's (1972) association of shame and poor development of the self also raises the possibility of other effects on men's behaviour. For example, anticipated rejection and hypersensitivity may also be experienced as a result of poor childhood self development. In support of this, other studies suggest that shame develops as a result of detachment or anticipated detachment from a partner or significant other who is perceived as not understanding or non-supportive (Dutton, et al., 1994; Mayseless, 1991). What this suggests is that men experience shame and rejection when they perceive their partners' responses to be impassive. As a result, they respond using violence in order to eliminate feelings of shame or rejection and regain their sense of self.

Conclusively, the causes of male shame appear to be varied (Brown, 2004; Wallace & Nosko, 2003). However, most causes were related to 'internal factors' such as low self esteem as an adult; poor self development as a child; and anticipated rejection. Undeniably, these issues appear to affect the adult intimate relationship through men's violent behaviour.

A second psychological-individual factor highlights the impact of attachment patterns for men who use violence in their intimate relationship. The literature suggests that men who have had unpleasant early attachment experiences with their primary care givers are more likely to experience hypersensitivity, insecurity and/or

anxiety in their adult intimate relationships (Bowlby, 1980a; Bowlby, 1980b; Dutton, et al., 1994). Corvo (2006) outlines domestic violence in relation to attachment theory by highlighting two types of attachment behaviours. The first attachment behaviour results in anger (in the form of abusive behaviour) and/or anxiety when there is a real or anticipated separation from the attachment figure. The second refers to the experience of loss and grief when there is an actual loss of the attachment figure. In both of the attachment behaviours, the attachment figure is postulated to be the woman partner. Furthermore, these attachment behaviours are thought to have developed as a result of ‘family of origin’ variables, such as neglect or inconsistent care-giving (Corvo, 1997; Dawes, Sas Kropiwnicki, Kafaar, & Richter, 2004; Patterson, DeBaryshe, & Ramsey, 1989; Sheridan, 1995). A number of studies with male perpetrators have also highlighted unpleasant childhood experiences which support the attachment theory argument (Abrahams, et al., 2006; Diamond & Muller, 2004; Londt, 2004).

A third psychological-individual factor refers to a complex myriad of low self-esteem and low self-acceptance. Buchbinder and Eisikovits (2008) suggest that violent men often experience many negative emotions. Other studies expand on this and highlight emotional anxiety, inner contradiction, fear of abandonment and strong needs for acceptance (Dutton, et al., 1994; Haj Yahia, 2000a). These factors have also been associated with male perpetrators’ understanding of the self (May, 1983; Dutton, 2007). Taking these complex and contradictory emotions into consideration, two response types attempt to explain the process of domestic violence in relation to the self.

The first explanation is termed the “*emotional funnel*” (Eisikovits & Buchbinder, 1996, p. 625). This suggests that violent men are only able to identify and experience one emotion – which is anger. Therefore, in any given circumstance, anger is the primary emotion which is presented with aggressive or violent behaviour (Schwartz, Waldo, & Daniel, 2005). Conversely, what this suggests is that violent men are unable to identify emotions such as anxiety, fear or abandonment. Therefore, using the “emotional funnel” analogy, it can be argued that when violent men experience any emotion they interpret this emotion as anger, which causes them to use violent behaviour.

A second explanation suggests that violence is influenced by violent men's concepts of self (Goodrum, Umberson, & Anderson, 2001). More specifically, violent men appear to minimise others' views or dissociate from their abusive behaviour (Cavanagh, et al., 2001). Freud (1923) describes this process of minimisation and dissociation as coping mechanisms, which avoid responsibility and prevent a negative self-image. Ultimately, if violent men are unable to view their behaviour as violent (through minimisation or dissociation), then they would not view themselves as 'abusers.' In response, Buchbinder and Eisikovits (2008) recommend facilitating the development of a new identity and healthy self-image when working with male perpetrators of domestic violence.

A fourth psychological-individual factor refers to the inability of male perpetrators to feel empathy for their partners. The literature connects the inability to feel empathy in relation to remorse (Cavanagh, et al., 2001; Presser, 2003; Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004). In other words, violent men who apologised for their abusive behaviour appeared to be unsympathetic toward their victims. Consequently, men justify their abusive behaviour; or focus on themselves as victims (Reitz, 1999). Men were unable to feel empathy for their victims, as they appeared to be preoccupied with their perception of being the victim (Presser, 2003). Two possible explanations of remorse and its association with perpetrators inability to feel empathy exists.

The first explanation incorporates remorse within the context of the cycle of violence (Walker, 1979). The cycle of violence consists of four phases, which include denial, build-up, explosion and remorse (Londt, 2004). The first three phases are discussed later in this chapter. The 'remorse phase' is also considered as the 'honeymoon phase' (Scully & Marolla, 1984) and suggests that violent men apologise as part of the cycle of violence. These apologies, however, are considered insincere as they are presented cyclically in the honeymoon phase without any sustainable behavioural change. Ultimately, violent men appear to apologise with a hidden agenda, which does not include empathy for their victims. Therefore, a second explanation suggests that violent men have something to gain (such as a reduced prison sentence) should they apologise or show remorse (Goffman, 1971; Wood, 2004). In support of this, apologies were also found to be insincere, strategic and incomplete (Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004). Reitz (1999), Wood (2004) and Presser (2003)

extend this argument and highlight how violent men used blame as an alternative to empathy. Therefore, what the literature highlights is that violent men do show remorse but that they do not appear to be empathetic towards their women partners.

A number of studies have highlighted anger as a significant emotion for male perpetrators of domestic violence. Norlander and Eckhardt (2005) found a significant link between the severity of violence and levels of anger in violent men. In other words, high levels of severe violence were correlated with high levels of anger. Similarly, high levels of pathological anger were found in violent men (Murphy, Taft, & Eckhardt, 2007). There appears to be two opinions which attempt to include or exclude anger as a significant variable when working with violent men. The first one suggests that anger management should be included in treatment interventions with male perpetrators of domestic violence (Babcock, et al., 2004) because of the significant associations found above. The second suggests that domestic violence revolves around power and control rather than anger management; and that anger management should be treated separately to domestic violence (Gondolf & Russell, 1986; Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Both opinions appear to agree that anger is a problem for violent men; but disagree on how anger should be treated. Perhaps a deeper understanding of men's experience of anger may be useful in determining the way that anger should be incorporated into treatment.

2.1.1.1 Summary of psychological-individual factors

This section highlights a number of psychological-individual factors which appear to be associated with the perpetration of domestic violence. In summary, shame and low levels of self esteem appeared to suggest that men used violence to feel better about themselves. Poor self development as a child also appeared to be linked with destructive attachment patterns and ultimately to violence. Violent men were found to be preoccupied with their position as 'victims' rather than showing empathy towards their partners. Seemingly, violent men are able to apologise. However, their apologies are met with scepticism and have been found to be insincere or cyclical. Undeniably, these factors influence violent behaviour. However, not all men who are violent have a psychological problem (Contrino, et al., 2007; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Gondolf, 1999; Gondolf, 2002; Gondolf, 2007; Reitz, 1999). Potentially, only some

psychological-individual factors affect some men. Therefore, the assumption that violence is driven through these factors may not be accurate for all violent men.

This study places an important focus on psychological-individual factors within the context of domestic violence. Ultimately, taking these factors into consideration may provide an alternative and comprehensive understanding of men's violence. Furthermore, these factors may also be relevant for treatment outside of a domestic violence treatment programme. The question that remains asks whether there may be 'additional factors' that influence violent behaviour. Therefore, the next theme highlights sociological-interpersonal factors that are associated with violent behaviour.

2.1.2 Sociological-interpersonal factors

Sociological-interpersonal factors explore the context in which the abuse takes place and external factors, which contribute to, or maintain abusive behaviour. A number of sociological-interpersonal factors have been identified in the literature. Therefore, alcohol; marital satisfaction; employment; economic pressure; poverty; education levels; and age will be outlined in the discussion to follow.

Alcohol abuse is considered to be a sociological-interpersonal factor, which is associated with men's violence against women. Arguably, alcohol fits into this 'category' by its nature as a socially acceptable substance to abuse. It is easily available and very often presented with domestic violence (Ptacek, 1988). Studies also suggest that men who abuse alcohol appeared to be more at risk of abusing their partners (Fals-Stewart, Leonard, & Birchler, 2005; Wallace & Nosko, 2003). In support of this, further studies also highlight the close relation between alcohol consumption and intimate partner violence. In one such study in the United States, using 170 domestic violence perpetrators that were also attending an alcohol rehabilitation programme, 76% of participants reported using alcohol directly before using severe violence towards their partners (Fals-Stewart, et al., 2005). Similarly, another study by Testa, Quigley and Leonard (2003) also suggests that abusive behaviour was more severe in men that were under the influence of alcohol. In South Africa, a study conducted in the Transkei, using 22 female reports, found that alcohol

was reported as the cause of the domestic violence in 50% of the cases; while substance abuse, such as marijuana, was reported as the cause in 40.9% of the cases (Meel, 2006). In Cape Town, one study (Abrahams, et al., 2006) which focused on domestic violence risk factors in a sample of 1378 men, highlighted that 57,4% of the participants in the study consumed alcohol regularly. Furthermore, it also highlighted men's descriptions of a violent episode, which often included alcohol consumption. In 2000, the Medical Research Council of South Africa (MRC) reported one-third to half of arrestees in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg as being under the influence of alcohol when they were charged with offences categorised as family violence (Parry, 2000).

The literature on the occurrence of domestic violence and alcohol consumption indicates that alcohol may play an important role in the frequency and severity of domestic violence (Abrahams, et al., 2006; Heise & Garcia-Moreno, 2002; McDonald, 1994). Seemingly, reports from males (Fals-Stewart, et al., 2005; Testa, et al., 2003) and females (Meel, 2006) also highlight excessive alcohol abuse as a factor which co-occurs with male-to-female violence. However, what the studies above do not highlight is men's understanding of how alcohol abuse might contribute to their violent behaviour. In spite of this, one study (Wood, 2004) does appear to include men's understanding of their alcohol abuse. Wood's (2004) study highlights how men referred to using alcohol or drugs to excuse their violent behaviour. More specifically, Wood (2004) categorises men's use of dissociation and justification to avoid responsibility and provide a 'reason' for their abusive behaviour. Similarly, other studies (Goffman, 1971; Goodrum, et al., 2001; Ptacek, 1988) have also found that perpetrators dissociated from their abusive behaviour and avoided responsibility for severely injuring their partners. The literature illustrates that alcohol abuse very often co-occurs with violence against an intimate partner; and allows men to justify their violent behaviour.

Marital satisfaction is also highlighted in the literature as an important interpersonal factor when working with male perpetrators of domestic violence. Marital satisfaction may be understood in terms of positive and negative spousal behaviours (Johnson & O'Leary, 1996). In other words, as negative spousal behaviours increased, so did marital dissatisfaction. In two separate studies, Straus

(1990) and Singh (2003) found high levels of stress and marital dissatisfaction in violent men. Dawes, et al. (2004) explain marital dissatisfaction in the context of the family, which is an isolated and private environment. They suggest that isolated families are unable to cope with stress and that violent responses take place to counter family stress. Following this, O’Leary and Williams (2006) also identified that both men and women appeared to underreport negative behaviours such as physical and psychological abuse. In response to those that did report abuse, Szinovacz and Egley (1995) found women to overcorrect reports regarding men’s negative or abusive behaviour. Ultimately, these studies suggest that negative spousal behaviours may be underreported and difficult to measure. Furthermore, where there are more negative behaviours, the likelihood of marital dissatisfaction is higher. Therefore studies which highlight high levels of marital dissatisfaction indicate potentially high levels of abusive behaviour.

Employment and the work environment are important factors to consider when conducting research with male perpetrators. The literature highlights the effects of a negative work environment, which may be associated with abusive behaviour. Seemingly, women are at risk of losing their jobs due to poor work productivity as a result of abuse (Tolman & Wang, 2005). Conversely, for men, heavy workloads, long hours and negative work interactions are all highlighted as factors which contribute to anger and poor marital relationships (Crouter, Bumpus, Head, & McHale, 2001; Story & Repetti, 2006). Conclusively, men’s work environments were seen to be the ‘cause of violence,’ while women were forcibly absent from work due to injury or partner control. One theory, called the “negative mood spillover model” (Story & Repetti, 2006) suggests that negative work interactions and high workloads cause irritability and tension, which are unresolved. These ‘unresolved tensions’ are suppressed and transferred from the work environment to the home environment where the potential for conflict increases. In addition, men have been found to be more at risk, as they are more likely than women partners to be employed (Bond, Galinsky, & Swanberg, 1998). Evidence which supports the idea of negative work interactions may also be found in other studies, which explore treatment options for perpetrators. In one such study, men who were being treated for domestic violence reported poor work relationships (Buchbinder & Eisikovits, 2008). Similarly, in a Cape Town study, 14.5

% of the men reported fighting at work (Abrahams, et al., 2006). Undeniably, the effects of or on the work environment for both men and woman are may be important.

In addition to employment and the work environment, economic pressure has also been associated with increased emotional stress, marital conflict and marital distress (Conger, et al., 1999). Arguably, economic pressure may be described in two distinct ways. The first scenario refers to whether or not either partner is employed. In other words, unemployment seemingly places pressure on the couple to manage with 'half the income,' and may result in conflict around finances. The second scenario highlights an increase in negative behaviours in men and women during economic recessions (Conger, et al., 1990). The second scenario (which suggests an increase in negative behaviours) may also result in marital conflict; and has also been highlighted during the 1930's 'depression' and the 1980's 'recession' in North America (Liker & Elder, 1983). Therefore, the link between economic pressure, negative behaviours and marital conflict becomes apparent. Notably, the literature which suggests an increase in domestic violence during times of economic pressure, may also predict a current increase in domestic violence due the current global economic crisis.

Jewkes, et al. (2002) suggest that poverty is associated with domestic violence as a result of conflict over possessions, property or resources. Furthermore, the link between poverty and domestic violence has also been found in other studies (Martin, Tsui, Maitra, & Marinshaw, 1999; Pan, et al., 2006). To support this point, some studies highlight that men from rural areas appear to use higher levels of abusive behaviour when compared to men in urban areas (Burazeri, et al., 2005; Jewkes, et al., 2002). Factors that complicate the relationship between poverty and domestic violence include a lack of access to social, educational and other resources and unemployment

Levels of education have also been found to be associated with domestic violence. Some international (Burazeri, et al., 2005) and local (Abrahams, et al., 2006) studies suggest that women who are more educated than their partners are more at risk of domestic violence. Conversely, what this also suggests is that lower education levels in men are potential risk factors for domestic violence. Dawes, et al. (2004) explain that men who have lower education levels may perceive themselves to have a lower economic status; and as failures to adhere to the 'male provider' ideal. Similarly,

Abrahams, et al. (2006) suggest that men who have high education levels experience less financial stress and have higher levels of self-esteem - preventing them from using abusive behaviour. Ultimately, lower education levels in men were risk factors for domestic violence (Bollen, Artz, Vetten, & Louw, 1999). Conversely, when both men and women had high levels of education, low levels of domestic violence were reported (Hines & Malley-Morrison, 2001). Therefore, the literature appears to highlight the significance of education levels in relation to domestic violence.

Age also appeared as a sociological-interpersonal factor in the literature on domestic violence. It is well documented that the majority of studies, which explore domestic violence, take place with women victims (Abrahams, et al., 2006; Dawes, et al., 2004; Jewkes, et al., 2002). In many of these studies, being a young woman has been identified as a high risk. More specifically, women between the ages of 20 and 30 may be categorised as a high risk victim group for domestic violence (Bollen, Artz, Vetten, & Louw, 1999; Burazeri, et al., 2005; Dawes, et al., 2004; Jewkes, et al., 2002). Possibly, men's ability to control younger women may be a reason why they are identified as a high risk group. Conversely, age has also been identified as a risk factor for men between the ages of 20 to 29 (Vijayendra, 1997); and 30 to 39 (Taft, Murphy, Elliot, & Morrel, 2001). Vijayendra (1997) describes the significance of age and domestic violence within the context of culture. He suggests that 'arranged marriages,' which are usually planned when the couple is young, accompany the 'acceptance' of violence as a cultural norm. However, such cultural norms may not be applicable to all men. Notably, few studies specifically identify perpetrator age as a risk factor for domestic violence. Seemingly, the studies that have taken place with perpetrators highlight age range as a 'risk group.' Therefore, in summary, the literature highlights young women as victims; and men between the ages of 20 and 54 as perpetrators (Reitz, 1999; Taft, et al., 2001; Vijayendra, 1997; Wood, 2004).

2.1.2.1 Summary of sociological-interpersonal factors

A number of sociological-interpersonal factors, which are identified above, may be directly related to domestic violence. In summary, stress in a number of contexts appeared to be related to violent behaviour. Stress was highlighted in men who experienced low levels of marital satisfaction; unpleasant work environments; times of

economic crisis; and poverty. Seemingly, men who experienced stress in these contexts appeared unable to control their behaviour. Instead, they used violence to resolve tension. Similarly, they also used alcohol as a way of dealing with their problems and with conflict. Ironically, alcohol appeared to be the ‘cause’ of severe violent behaviour; and men used being intoxicated as an excuse to dissociate from their behaviour. Low education levels and age were also associated with men’s feelings of inadequacy and low self-esteem.

Ultimately, sociological-interpersonal factors illustrate the complexity of domestic violence. Similarly, to psychological-individual factors, not all sociological-interpersonal factors are applicable to all violent men. Therefore, they emphasise the nature of violent behaviour in different contexts, which may differ from one violent man to the next. This highlights the importance of considering sociological factors when working with perpetrators.

2.1.3 Socio-cultural context

Socio-cultural factors describe different behaviours and beliefs within a broader societal context. Given that there is a diverse combination of ethnic groups within South Africa, this theme places domestic violence within a socio-cultural context where cultural and feminist factors appear to overlap.

“Culture can be viewed as a contested field of interaction within which people make and encounter meanings which are produced and circulated by society” (Giles & Middleton, 2008, p.179). Similarly, *“feminist theory is the attempt to make intellectual sense of, and then to critique, the subordination of women to men”* (Cudd & Andreasen, 2005, p.1).

Seemingly, both cultural and feminist factors appear to have common characteristics – which are to interpret behaviour and establish meaning in the context of broader society. Therefore, a number of sub-themes are identified in order to understand socio-cultural contexts. The following sub-themes highlight the complex connections between culture and feminism, masculinity, and religion.

2.1.3.1 Interchanges between culture and feminism

Patterns of dominance, power and control are considered to be cultural or feminist factors, which have been identified as important for understanding men's perpetration of violence against their female partners (Ptacek, 1988; Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2001; Wood, 2004; Yllö & Bograd, 1988). Dominance, power and control also appear to be interconnected with South Africa's history of both patriarchal and racial oppression (Vincent, 2006). In the history of South Africa, legal frameworks, such as Apartheid, dictated to society about what people could and could not do. Furthermore, this legal framework also endorsed norms and standards relating to behaviour and activities for men and women respectively. Ultimately, Apartheid put men in control of women; white men in control of black men; and white or black women as subservient to white or black men (Vincent, 2006). In a similar way, cultural practices also play a pivotal role in stereotyping acceptable activities and behaviours for men and women (Gregg, 2005; Griffith, Negy, & Chadee, 2006; Pan, et al., 2006). Broadly, in South African society today, it can be argued that women are still viewed as housebound child sentinels, while men are entitled to work and advance their careers (Shefer, et al., 2008; Vincent, 2006). In other words, a patriarchal system may still exist. Evidently, the link between the way women are treated and the 'culture of being a man' appears consistently in South Africa's not so distant past. In light of this, this sub-theme discusses how dominance, power and control are reflected within a cultural context.

Men's belief about domination of the partner and their controlling behaviour can be closely related. Research suggests that men perceived themselves to have ownership of women and be entitled to dominate 'their women' (Russell, 1995; Wood, 2001; Wood, 2004). Russell (1995) found that beliefs which identify men as central and superior; that disregard the interests of women; and that condone behaviour to retain men's superiority may be termed as abusive beliefs. Seemingly, beliefs which dominate women partners reflect a masculine culture, which does not support equality or the empowerment of women.

Power appears to be intricately related with control and the enforcement of traditional gender roles in the intimate relationship (Shefer, et al., 2008). Further research (Cavanagh, et al., 2001; Pence & Paymar, 1993) on this connection suggests

that men's need for power is an intentional and well devised plan, in which violence is used as a tool to achieve power over the relationship. Similarly, Dawes, et al. (2004) describe violence as an attempt to 'restore power' as an essential part of attaining the ideal masculine image. Possibly, dominance and control are factors which maintain power over women and the relationship. Violence therefore appears to be a deliberate enforcement of traditional masculinity, which is related to power and dominance in the relationship.

Cultural constructions of traditional masculinity provide the background for how masculinity is enacted within intimate heterosexual relationships. Control in the relationship may be enacted through men's attempts to ensure that their will is carried out. In Wood's (2004) study of men's narratives of domestic violence, the right to control a female partner was highlighted by 81% of participants. Men in Wood's (2004) study appeared to justify their behaviour as they felt they were entitled to use abuse in order to control their partners. The same study also explains men's understanding of violence as a normal aspect of relationships. Men had either witnessed their fathers beating their mothers, or had been witness to other forms of community violence. Hence, witnessing this abuse seemingly lead them to believe that abusive behaviour was normal; and that they were entitled to perpetrate violence toward their partners. Wood (2004) highlights one explanation of control. However, many possible explanations of why men attempt to control their partners exist. Rosenbaum and Leisring (2003, p. 7) suggest that "*domestic violence is all about power and control*"; and that controlling behaviour is related to feelings of powerlessness and impotence, drawing on a psychological explanation for men's violence. In a similar way, others (Piers & Singer, 1953; Umberson, Anderson, Glick, & Shapiro, 1998) explain controlling behaviour as a way of counteracting feelings of shame, abandonment and insecurity in other aspects of men's lives.

Men's understanding of masculinity appears to encompass ownership and entitlement, which are 'anti-feminist' as they subordinate women. Potentially, these beliefs may be entrenched within a cultural context and masculinity may be understood as a 'culture' on its own. Therefore, the following theme describes masculinity as a culture to control.

2.1.3.2 Masculinity: A culture of control

Masculinity and ideas about masculinity are inevitably linked to culture and control. The discussion below explores how culturally constructed notions of masculinity are related to control and the perpetration of violence against women.

Smiler (2004) defines masculinity as tough, in-charge and anti-feminine. Potentially, characteristics such as these may be foundations for behaviours and beliefs, which are associated with what it means to be a man. Gregg (2005) describes being a 'real man' as a satirical term used to explain the traits of men who are abusive towards their female partners. The 'real man' embraces stereotypical beliefs and behaviours which are associated with being the superior alpha male in the relationship. These beliefs can often be identified by the need to control their partners; the need to use violence to enforce their opinion or to deal with disagreement; and to enjoy a communal sense of agreement among their male peers that these beliefs and behaviours are acceptable. Male gender-role socialisation can also attribute to being a 'real man' as it suggests that individuals, men in particular, learn through their interactions with other men (Bandura, 1971). It also proposes that men share abusive attitudes, beliefs and morals, which are reinforced through their interaction with their male peers and can lead to ongoing violence within the relationship.

Braksmajer and Kimmel (2007) highlight polarised societal views of masculinity and femininity, which are still present today. Historically, gender roles appear to be assigned to men and women respectively (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Society requires men to find women who will 'support' them (Ptacek, 1988); and women to find men who are 'strong' (Goffman, 1971). These societal expectancies would appear to support the notion of masculinity as a constitution built on the roles for men and women. Consequently, this process may also be understood as male gender-role socialisation, as society guides men (and women) on how to behave. Interestingly, studies which have been conducted with men illustrate their subjective understanding of masculinity. One of these studies suggests that violence demonstrates and reinforces masculinity (Hearn, 1998). Another (Messner, 1992) suggests that social class is a variable which influences men's understanding of masculinity. More specifically, Messner (1992) found that men who were situated in higher 'social class brackets'

understood masculinity in terms of providing for a family; while men who were in lower 'social class brackets' understood masculinity in terms of using violence to gain respect. Notably, respect was also identified in other studies (Paré, et al., 2006; Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004) where men demanded their partner's respect, regardless of whether they had treated them badly or not. Both explanations suggest that being a man is about being better, faster and bigger (Walker, Butland, & Connell, 2000). Moreover, masculinity appears to be understood differently by different men in different social class groups.

Cultural factors may influence gender role socialisation and in many cultures it is expected and acceptable for males to treat female partners in abusive ways (Levitt, Swanger, & Butler, 2008). For example, one study which explored hyper-masculine attitudes in a group of Indian adolescent men identified cultural practices, which endorsed idealised and inequitable beliefs about masculinity, in communities with a history of extreme violence against women (Mahalingam & Balan, 2008). Interestingly, this study also found that supporting beliefs about masculinity were associated with high academic performance and low levels of shame and depression. This finding poses serious questions on the value of masculinity in groups where inequitable cultural practices are prevalent. On the one hand it suggests that conformity to traditional masculinity is associated with psychological wellbeing. On the other hand, it suggests that masculinity is also associated with high risk behaviours, such as alcohol abuse and domestic violence. Other studies have also identified the association between masculine behaviours and culture. For example, Heise and Ellsberg (as cited in Pan, et al., 2006) found violence to be culturally acceptable when women did not behave according to their predefined gender roles. In another example, intergenerational and partner violence was found to be acceptable within Somali, Vietnamese and Latino culture groups (Pan, et al., 2006).

Control over women appears to be reinforced through male gender-role socialisation, societal norms and cultural consent. Irrefutably, there may be other socio-cultural factors which also 'tolerate' violence against women. Such factors are discussed in the next section which explores domestic violence in the context of religion.

2.1.3.3 The argument of culture or religion

This theme explores the complex interface between culture, religion and domestic violence. Currently, a limited amount of research explicitly examines the role of religion in domestic violence (Ellison, Bartkowski, & Anderson, 1999). Furthermore, studies which do explore the association between domestic violence and religion, appear to focus either on non-westernised countries (Douki, et al., 2003; Haj Yahia, 2000b; Vijayendra, 1997) or non-westernised groups who are based in westernised countries (Caetano & Cunradi, 2003; Burazeri, et al., 2005; Griffith, et al., 2006).

In some Middle Eastern countries, domestic violence continues to be minimised and accepted in support of religion and/or culture (Douki, et al., 2003). Research conducted in Arab and Islamic communities provides useful information, especially considering the wide prevalence of Islamic practice across the world, including South Africa. Islamic religious instruction views ‘family problems’ such as domestic violence, as a private matter, which does not necessarily encourage external intervention by social services or legal authorities (Griffith, et al., 2006; Haj Yahia, 2000b; Haj Yahia, 1998). Some research goes further to identify verses from the Koran which suggest that men who are physically abusive towards their wives are following God’s commandment (Douki, et al., 2003). However, the interpretation of such verses have also been contradicted and criticised by other verses (in the Koran) and some theorists suggest that wife abuse is a cultural matter rather than a religious instruction (Badawi, as cited in Douki, et al., 2003).

In a similar way, religion and the introduction of Islam and Christianity to South Africa in particular, postulate a valid argument in relation to dominance, power and control. Bhana, Morrell, Hearn and Moletsane (2007) review the history of religion in South Africa, and draw attention to the history in which religion substantiates superiority of men over women. In so doing they suggest that religions may sanction dominance and control of one gender over the other. More specifically, what their study highlights is how religion ascribes certain behaviours to men and women respectively. Similarly, other studies (Dawes, et al., 2004) agree with the notion that socio-cultural influences (such as religions) shape the way that men and women are

expected to behave. While this may be a controversial point to make, the complex implications of religion, dominance and control cannot be excluded.

Arguably, some religious beliefs and cultural practices appear to overlap. For example, in one study conducted in Israeli and Palestinian territories, some men viewed their wives refusal to have sex; and not adhering to traditional roles as plausible explanations for male-to-female intimate partner violence (Haj Yahia, 1998). The same study also associates domestic violence with patriarchal beliefs, which encompass the 'masculine culture' that is discussed in the previous section. Raj and Silverman (2002) suggest that many cultural and/or religious groups explicitly sanction intimate partner violence at times when women do not adhere to traditional gender roles. Similarly, Ellison and Anderson (2001) found that planned traditional marriages and religious practices, which require men to control their families, were associated with high tolerance levels of domestic violence.

A study conducted in the United States explored the way in which Western culture had an influence on Somalian immigrants (Pan, et al., 2006). In this study, results indicated that domestic violence was understood to be an unacceptable tool to resolve conflict between two partners. However, contrary to this, domestic violence was understood to be acceptable if it preserved patriarchal power in the family. This finding highlights a patriarchal imperative which might be central to a Somalian cultural perspective. Further to this, Somalian men also stated that domestic violence occurred as a result of government interventions which: supported Somalian women; challenged the cultural perceptions of the Somalian patriarchal family structure; and appeared to remove control from men.

The literature points towards a complex permutation of religious and cultural beliefs or practices, which appear to support male superiority and control within the context of the family. Similarly patriarchal beliefs appeared consistently in the context of religion and culture respectively. It should be noted that while domestic violence is not the specific domain of certain cultures or religious groups, the occurrence and acceptance of such behaviour is something which has to be theorised and studied extensively in order to effectively combat domestic violence (Ellison, Trinitapoli, Anderson, & Johnson, 2007). Therefore, it is important that we learn more about

cultural, religious and societal norms in our communities in order to understand them and provide culture specific interventions where this may be required.

2.1.3.4 Summary of socio-cultural factors

Socio-cultural factors highlight a complex connection which appears to exist between culture, religion and domestic violence. Potentially, these may also be described as ‘macro factors’ as they incorporate the beliefs and practice of several cultural and/or religious groups. In summary, two consistent themes are identified within this connection. The first theme highlights similar beliefs which appear within some religious or cultural contexts. These beliefs include men’s control, superiority, entitlement and ownership. The second theme highlights male gender-role socialisation. In other words larger societal norms, which influence cultures and religions, seem to ‘permit’ men’s violence towards women. Within a socio-cultural context, the use of abusive behaviour appears to be normalised as a result of exposure to violence, which also appears unchallenged.

The end result of the complex relationship between societal norms and domestic violence constructs the use of violence as an acceptable behaviour for men within a larger societal framework. Potentially, this may be useful in understanding domestic violence in South Africa given the cultural and religious diversity, which exists.

2.1.4 Summary of theoretical approaches to understanding men’s violence

This section explains why men use violence against women in the context of internal and external factors. Three themes were identified, namely psychological-individual, sociological-interpersonal and socio-cultural factors. Notably, psychological-individual factors highlight the complex nature of low self esteem; inability to feel empathy; shame; and poor attachment patterns. Sociological-interpersonal factors include normative alcohol abuse; marital distress; poor work settings; economic crises; poverty; and low education levels. Socio-cultural factors identify the influence of larger societal orders as dismissive and supportive of violence against women. These three factors appear to share one consistent limitation, which

acknowledges that understanding domestic violence is complex. Therefore, a multifaceted approach to understanding each individual situation may be required as not all factors are applicable to all men who use violence. The next section explores individual responses where abusive men have described their subjective understanding of their violent behaviour.

2.2 Men's responses to domestic violence

An emerging body of research has started to qualitatively address the meanings that men attach to their violent behaviour. Men's perceptions and understanding of domestic violence included justification, dissociation, denial and remorse (Cavanagh, et al., 2001; Goodrum, et al., 2001; Hearn, 1998; Presser, 2003; Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004). These responses have also been cited in earlier research with male perpetrators (Goffman, 1971; Ptacek, 1988). Surprisingly, they continue to appear almost 40 years later. This section provides a brief overview of the four response types, namely denial, justification, dissociation and remorse which are well documented in the literature.

Denial may be characterised by perpetrators who completely reject the notion that they had been violent (Cavanagh, et al., 2001). Ptacek (1988) interprets denial in terms of two accounts of violence, which have been identified by Scott and Lyman (1968). The first account refers to male perpetrators who deny responsibility for their violent behaviour through their 'loss of control' and/or 'provocation by women.' In other words, violent behaviour was excusable, as men had 'lost control.' Loss of control was also highlighted in the context of 'selective amnesia' in studies with violent men (Cavanagh, et al., 2001). They suggest that being unable to remember events may point toward denial. Furthermore, they argue that the perpetrator asserts his power by not responding and using the explanation of not being able to remember violent events. Conclusively they suggest that 'silence' is a means of denying that any violence ever took place and allows emotions such as guilt or remorse to recede. The second account refers to minimising the severity of injuries and/or abuse in the context of gender roles (Eisikovits & Buchbinder, 1997; Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004). In other words, violence was accepted if women were not 'good wives.'

Denial was also associated with identity. Goodrum, et al. (2001) found that perpetrators were unhappy to be labelled or identified as ‘abusers.’ Some researchers suggest that perpetrators may not identify themselves as violent because their violence was not directed towards anyone outside of their intimate partner relationship (Cavanagh, et al., 2001; Dutton, 1986; Eisikovits & Buchbinder, 1997; Ptacek, 1988). Mead (1934) explains how the perpetrator becomes aware of incongruent identities of the self as either an ‘abuser’ or a ‘non-abuser.’ Consequently, dissociation takes place at the point where perpetrators are faced with the decision to identify themselves as either an abuser or a non-abuser. Perpetrators dissociate from the ‘true self’ (which is the abuser) and reframe events to identify with the ‘non-abuser’ identity (Bograd, 1988; Ptacek, 1988). In a similar way, Reitz (1999) also substantiates the reframing process whereby men in her study identified with either good (non-abuser) or bad (abuser). In so doing, perpetrators deny any wrongdoing and have reconstructed their experiences to identify themselves as non-abusers.

The literature identifies justification as a response to domestic violence (Ptacek, 1988; Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004). Justification in domestic violence describes perpetrator’s reasons of why violence towards their intimate partner was used and is valid. During interviews with 22 men, Wood (2004) found that men justified their violent behaviour. They referred to their right to control women, and argued that women provoked and disrespected them. Seemingly, these were expressions used to justify their violent behaviour. Justification may also be closely related with the frequency and severity of abuse. In other words, abusive behaviour that occurred less often and was less severe appeared permissible. This finding is also known as ‘minimising’ and was reported in some instances where abusive behaviour was ‘more acceptable’ when it took place ‘every couple of weeks’ (Cavanagh, et al., 2001).

Men also used justification to excuse their behaviour and transfer the blame towards their female partners (Hearn, 1998; Wood, 2004). Such excuses often acknowledge the abusive behaviour and draw most of the attention towards the female partner’s behaviour, which is usually perceived as the cause of the violence. Wood’s (2004) study also highlights men’s attempts to locate fault in women’s behaviour and avoid responsibility for using violence. In her study, men acknowledged their abusive behaviour and used their right to abuse women as an explanation. It appears that

violence is very often justified through blaming the women partner (Eisikovits & Buchbinder, 1997; Presser, 2003; Reitz, 1999).

Early research of domestic violence suggests that dissociation from abusive behaviour has been presented by male perpetrators for some time (Buchbinder & Eisikovits, 2004; Goffman, 1971; Ptacek, 1988). Seemingly, dissociation is when a perpetrator distances himself from his abusive behaviour (Buchbinder & Eisikovits, 2004), while denial is when a perpetrator merely dismisses any wrongdoing (Cavanagh, et al., 2001). Men in Wood's (2004) study dissociated themselves from their actions and attributed their violent behaviour to external sources such as alcohol. Dissociation may also be related to the perpetrator's identification as an abuser, which has been explained in this section. Wood's (2004) study highlights statements where participants dissociate by avoiding labelling themselves as abusers. This denotes that violent men would acknowledge the behaviour as abusive. However, they would not associate their behaviour with stereotypical behaviours they believe to typify abusers.

Remorse, as a response to domestic violence, acknowledges abusive behaviour, identifies guilt and seeks an apology in an attempt to resolve the guilt experienced following an abusive incident (Presser, 2003). Some studies suggest that remorse is a deliberate strategy to win the support of the female victim, and sometimes of clinicians or facilitators too (Presser, 2003; Wood, 2004). In a different way, Tavuchis (1991) suggests that remorse is socialised from childhood and is preceded by guilt. Conversely to Tavuchis' explanation (1991), men in Reitz's (1999) study experienced guilt and moral conflict following their violent behaviour toward their partners. Similarly, regret and guilt were also identified in Wood's (2004) study. Guilt and moral conflict may provide an opportunity for perpetrators to argue that they are the 'good guys' by restructuring themselves as victims (Scully, 1990). Alternatively, Brown (2004) suggests that guilt is experienced by a perpetrator as a result of being unable to control his violent behaviour.

In a study in the United Kingdom, where 122 men were interviewed about their violent behaviour, 61% indicated that they had apologised following an abusive incident, while 4% indicated that they had not (Cavanagh, et al., 2001). Apologies have also been found to follow the honeymoon phase (Londt, 2004; Scully & Marolla,

1984; Smith, 2000), which is a period where men will go to great lengths to neutralise the situation. The honeymoon phase is a satirical play on the denotative definition of the honeymoon and may include a range of behaviours that are often extremely generous and/or irrational (Cavanagh, et al., 2001). For example, perpetrators may beg for forgiveness and become highly emotional until the partner succumbs. In Reitz's (1999) study, men described the honeymoon phase as behaving 'appropriately' directly after an incident of violent behaviour. Such behaviours included apologies and may indicate men's attempts to regain control of their situation.

In South Africa it should be noted that a cultural connection may exist, especially when a man who has abused his partner should apologise to her. The literature suggests that some cultures sanction certain practices, whereby men are allowed to behave in certain ways and condemned from behaving in ways which contradict men as the superior component of the relationship (Adams, Towns, & Gavey, 1995; Kimmel, 1996; Kimmel, 2002; Meyers, 1997). Seemingly, apologising does not meet the requirements of being the superior male. Therefore apologies should be reflected and analysed through behavioural change and reports from female partners, following a perpetrator intervention programme. Ultimately these studies (Cavanagh, et al., 2001; Presser, 2003; Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004) indicate that perpetrators experience remorse and guilt; and that apologies often follow violent behaviour.

2.2.1 Summary of men's responses to domestic violence

Conclusively, a complex myriad of men's responses to domestic violence exists in the literature and studies which have taken place over the past four decades. These responses, namely denial, justification, dissociation and remorse appear to have 'stood the test of time' as they continue to present themselves. Furthermore, they also appear to be intertwined as suggested by Ptacek (1988) and Scott and Lyman (1968). 'Regaining control' appears consistently throughout these responses. Conversely, this suggests that perpetrators experience a loss-of-control which is resolved through violence. Walker (1979) identifies the experience of a loss-of-control within the cycle of violence. He attributes the loss-of-control to other problem areas of men's lives, whereby the use of control over women is used as a platform to regain control.

Seemingly, men's responses to domestic violence fall within Walker's (1979) cycle of violence. The question that remains is: why do these responses continue to appear and how, potentially, can treatment interventions 'reinvent' them in order to eradicate longstanding unhealthy responses to domestic violence?

2.3 Summary of chapter

This chapter highlights why men use violence in their intimate partner relationships. Seemingly, there are a number of factors which appear to influence violent behaviour. Such factors may be driven internally, externally or as part of a societal framework, which permits the use of violence against women. What remains is the arduous task of ongoing attempts to explain violent behaviour without adequately questioning the perpetrator. In response, some studies have identified how men respond when confronted with the reality of their violent behaviour. These responses include denial, justification and dissociation of violent behaviour. Ironically, violent men have also been found to apologise for their behaviour.

Ultimately, the literature describes violent men who understand their behaviour as a result of their unpleasant personal histories, poor environmental factors and permissive societal norms. Violent men also appeared to avoid taking responsibility for the violent behaviour through a number of responses which are discussed in this chapter. As a final point, theorists and practitioners described violent behaviour as attempts to maintain power and control. Conversely, violent men described themselves as victims and their partners as the 'villains.' Undeniably, perpetrators and theorists are at loggerheads when it comes to understanding men's violent behaviour. Despite this, the ongoing occurrence and normative use of violence against women continues.

In conclusion, this chapter explored why men use violence. Subsequently, the next chapter outlines the feminist theoretical framework, which underpins the rationale and methodology of this study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

A qualitative research methodology has been adopted for this study. The methodology is divided into two sections. The first section provides an overview of qualitative research methodology and its position within a pro-feminist context. The second section details the methodological procedures, which include the focal research question, data collection, data analysis, and ethical considerations for research with human participants.

3.1 Connections: Qualitative research and pro-feminism

This section provides an overview of qualitative research methodology and consists of three themes. The first theme provides an overview of the history of qualitative research. The second theme provides a detailed account of the interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA; Smith, 1996; Smith, 2003; Smith & Osborn, 2003; Willig, 2008), which is the theoretical approach that underpins the qualitative methods used in this study. The third theme discusses the connection between qualitative methodology and a pro-feminist approach to research.

3.1.1 From start to present: An overview of qualitative research

Qualitative research may be defined as a methodology which explores, describes and interprets a particular phenomenon. Smith (2003, p.12) defines qualitative research below:

“Qualitative research involves collecting data in the form of naturalistic verbal reports - for example, interview transcripts or written accounts - and the analysis conducted on these is textual. Thus the concern is with interpreting what a piece of text means rather than finding the numerical properties of it.”

In light of the definition above, this study intends to explore, describe and interpret a phenomenon - which is male perpetrators' experience of domestic violence. This section outlines the history of qualitative research; the differences between qualitative and quantitative research; and various types of qualitative approaches which are used today.

Over the past two decades there appears to be a great increase in writing about, and teaching of qualitative research methodologies (Ashworth, 2008; Kvale, 2003; Smith, 2003). However, qualitative research - as it is known today - has certainly had its challenges since its inception. Arguably, qualitative research has been present since the inception of psychology as a science, which consisted of early case study research (Ashworth, 2008). Smith and Eatough (2007) support this by highlighting the transformation from early - qualitative - case studies to quantitative research. Historically, this transformation appeared to be driven by the need for quantifiable data, which could be easily converted into mathematical terms that represent relationships (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

An overview of the literature points towards a long rivalry with opposing positivist quantitative methodologies. Put simply, positivist quantitative methodologies are based on empiricism and reject any metaphysical speculation (Ashworth, 2008; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This suggests that qualitative methodologies are not empirical and that they may be too unsystematic. In support of the argument for qualitative methodologies, Ribbens and Edwards (1998) and others (Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2008) argue the empirical nature of qualitative research methodology. In other words, they highlight that qualitative methodologies include a theoretical framework; research design; data collection; data analysis; and a write-up. Therefore, qualitative methodologies also exemplify empirical attributes. Seemingly, this challenges the dominance of positivist quantitative methodologies which are based on empirical operational procedures. As a result, the playing field between qualitative and quantitative methodologies may have been levelled. Furthermore, evidence of this may be seen in the increased number of qualitative studies which have been documented. Echoing the words of Willig and Stainton-Rogers (2008), the days of justifying qualitative methods appear to be coming to an end.

Exploring the differences in both methodological frameworks provides a better understanding of the rivalry which exists between qualitative and positivist quantitative methodologies. Seemingly, there are a number of differences between qualitative and quantitative research. Guba and Lincoln (1994) highlight one fundamental difference and they do this by discussing both methodologies in terms of their functions. Put simply, qualitative methodologies attempt to understand and reconstruct; while quantitative methodologies focus on explanations, prediction and control (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The next part outlines four fundamental differences, which exist between the two approaches.

Firstly, qualitative data identifies personal experiences and attempts to describe, understand and explain these experiences rather than produce results which indicate cause-effect relationships (Willig, 2001). Guba and Lincoln (1994) concur when they refer to quantitative data as too focused on numerical relationships, which exclude in-depth understanding and meaning. A second difference refers to “*context stripping*” which illustrates the rigid and limited application of quantitative research (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 106). Conversely, this suggests that qualitative research includes contextual data, which may be relevant in understanding a particular subject or research topic. Thirdly, quantitative methodologies appear to produce grand theories which may not be applicable to local or individual contexts (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Willig, 2008). In other words, generalised data, which may not be applicable, is applied to an entire population. A good example of this is the current application of Western psychology to Eastern or African populations. Fourthly, quantitative methodologies appear to rely too heavily on facts which are linked to theories (Ashworth, 2008; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Willig, 2008). Guba and Lincoln (1994) argue that this process undermines objectivity, as hypotheses appear to be aligned too closely with facts and theories when conducting quantitative research. In response, qualitative research does not intend on predicting outcomes based on a pre-determined hypotheses. Therefore, it’s objective position remains. Simply put, qualitative research is exploratory and quantitative research is explanatory. Potentially, this allows qualitative researchers the opportunity to be more flexible in their approach; exposes information that could potentially be missed out when using a quantitative design; and is concerned with the individual’s experience and how they attribute meaning to these experiences.

A number of different approaches may be used to conduct qualitative research. Qualitative research requires careful consideration of the research question in order to explore individual experience and meaning. Therefore, the research question plays an important role in which qualitative methodology to employ. A number of different theoretical approaches, which inform the way that qualitative research is conducted, exist (Ashworth, 2008; Smith, 2003). Lyons and Coyle (2007) highlight four of the main qualitative methodologies, which are currently in use. They include grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), discourse analysis (Potter & Wetherell, 1987), narrative analysis (Sarbin, 1986) and interpretative phenomenological analysis (Smith, 1996). The next part outlines these four qualitative methodologies.

Grounded theory is best described as an approach which systematically conducts research and conceptualises the data that is used to develop a theory (Ashworth, 2008; Charmaz, 2008). Therefore, the strength of grounded theory allows it to challenge existing theories irrespective of whether they are based on empirical observation. The second qualitative methodology is discourse analysis. Discourse analysis investigates the way individuals construct and negotiate meanings through language (Coyle, 2007; Willig, 2008). There appears to be many types of discourse analyses. However, the most commonly used types are embedded in discursive psychology and Foucauldian discourse analysis (Coyle, 2007; Willig, 2008). Discursive psychology focuses upon the role of language to determine individual's standing in their social environments. Foucauldian discourse analysis links dialogue between the individual and broader society. Both approaches appear to emphasise the role of language and meaning. In other words, what has been said, and the context in which it is said, are critical to both approaches.

The third qualitative methodology is narrative analysis (Sarbin, 1986). According to Murray (2008) and Crossley (2007), narrative analysis studies how individuals construct meaning and understanding in the context of stories or 'narratives.' Early studies (Ricoeur, 1976) also suggest that stories bring order and meaning to changing life experiences. Simply put, the procedure requires the researcher to identify themes relating to identity and self-reflection; connect them with the literature; and produce a write-up as a full account of their experience (Crossley, 2007; Murray, 2008). The interpretive phenomenological analysis (Smith, 1996) is the fourth qualitative

methodology and is the methodological framework which is used in this study. Therefore, it is discussed below as a separate theme.

3.1.2 The Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

Interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA; Smith, 1996; Smith, 2003; Smith & Osborn, 2003; Willig, 2008) engages with the individual and aims to describe a particular phenomenon (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999). In other words, IPA explores how individuals interpret their personal and social worlds; and how they construct meaning to their interpretations. Smith and Eatough (2007) define IPA in terms of three theoretical cornerstones. The first one, phenomenology, refers to individual's personal accounts and requires the researcher to enter the personal and social world of research participants (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Secondly, IPA focuses on hermeneutics, which explore the meaning individuals attribute to a particular phenomenon (Ricoeur, 1991). Thirdly, IPA is idiographic, which means that there is an emphasis on each individual case and not necessarily a generalisation across a number of cases.

IPA appears to be the most suitable qualitative methodology for this study for two reasons. They are to explore individuals' subjective experience and meaning of a phenomenon – domestic violence. A number of additional reasons outline why IPA is the most appropriate analytical tool for this study. Smith and Osborn (2003) suggest that IPA is flexible; good for complex problems; focuses on understanding; and may be used with small sample sizes. While positive descriptions of the use of IPA are highlighted above, Willig, (2008) illustrates two potential limitations of IPA. The first refers to the role of language. In other words, language may be biased as events may be described differently by participants. This suggests that IPA relies too much on language, which describes an experience rather than the 'experience-of-an-experience.' The second limitation refers to the accuracy of accounts. This also suggests that participants may be unable to provide accurate descriptions of a phenomenon. This process requires participants to be emotionally descriptive and a researcher who is able to draw emotions from the participant. Willig (2008) acknowledges that this is a challenging task as not all participants may be able to use

language; and engage with emotional descriptions of their experiences. However, Eatough and Smith (2008) provide clear guidelines on the use of semi-structured interviews, which assist researchers in eliciting detailed responses from participants.

In light of the four main qualitative methodologies which are discussed above, Willig (2008) highlights how different qualitative methodologies obtain different types of information. For example, the objective of grounded theory is to build new or alternative theoretical models, which challenge existing theories. Discourse analysis explores the way individuals construct and negotiate meanings through language and a larger social network. In a different way, narrative analysis explores the way individuals construct meaning and understanding in the context of a 'life story.' Lastly, IPA explores individuals' subjective experience and meanings that they attribute to a phenomenon. Seemingly the different qualitative methodologies appear to be quite diverse. However, they all appear to have shared objectives, which strongly support the focus on meaning and in-depth phenomenological accounts of an observable fact. It is within this framework that this study specifically selects IPA as the most appropriate qualitative methodological approach. More specifically, IPA is used to establish men's understanding and meanings associated with domestic violence. Following this point, the next theme outlines how qualitative methodology and IPA connect with a pro-feminist approach.

3.1.3 A pro feminist approach to qualitative research

Qualitative methods of enquiry, which contribute to improving the lives of women, appear to be supported within a pro-feminist approach (Yllö & Bograd, 1988). Therefore, this section provides an overview of the connection between qualitative methodological frameworks and a pro-feminist approach. For the purpose of this study it may be useful to outline a pro-feminist understanding of why men are violent toward intimate women partners. Bograd (1988, p. 13) defines a pro-feminist theoretical framework as one that:

“Directs attention to the physical violence occurring during heterosexual relationships that are structured in certain ways within the institution of marriage or

partnership as it is currently culturally defined and socially sustained on material ideological levels.”

Pro-feminist principles identify the social institution of marriage and the family as an area where physical violence towards women by men is promoted, maintained and supported (Yllö & Bograd, 1988). It also looks at ways in which women are excluded from power and prevented from playing a full part in the family, society and political activity. It asks why women are marginalised; what society (men in particular) thinks about women; why men use physical force against their female partners and what the function of men's violence is (Breines & Gordon, 1983; Yllö & Bograd, 1988).

The origin of the pro-feminist approaches is debatable and somewhat unclear (Corey, 2001; Gergen, 2008; Londt, 2004). What is clear, however, is the past four decades of feminist research and the effects of this research on society, governments and treatment interventions (Bograd, 1988; Dutton & Corvo, 2007; Gondolf, 2007). Bograd (1988) and others (Bunch, 1990; Londt, 2004; WHO, 2000; Walker, 1999) highlight the start of the 'feminist movement' early in the 1960's, which was followed by the inception of feminist psychology in the 1970's.

Arguably, the literature identifies pro-feminist supporters (Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004; Dobash, Dobash, Wilson, & Daly, 1992; Gondolf, 2007; Yllö & Bograd, 1988) and opposition feminist critics (Dutton & Corvo, 2007; Dutton & Nicholls, 2005; Johnson, 1995; Kessler, Molnar, Feurer, & Appelbaum, 2001; Nicholls & Dutton, 2001). Potentially, this suggests that theoretical frameworks may have certain limitations and/or that they continue to contest each other in attempts to dominate the stage of domestic violence (Gondolf, 2007). In response, there appears to be two critical pro-feminist standpoints which differentiate qualitative and quantitative research methodology.

The first one, "*feminist positions*" (Gergen, 2008, p. 6), highlights the history of quantitative research, which appears to be based upon the generalisations using men as participants (Willig, 2008). What this suggests is that quantitative research is based upon early studies which used male university students as research participants (Willig, 2008). This finding further suggests unequal measurement; and questions the

validity of comparing early studies (using men) to the general population, which consists of men and women (Gilligan, 1982). Ultimately, this critique of quantitative research grounding suggests that early studies are not representative as women were excluded as research participants. Therefore, pro-feminist approaches suggest a research methodology which provides rich and detailed accounts; and that incorporates the limitations of previous research, which has questionable validity.

The second standpoint, the “*God trick*” (Willig, 2008, p. 6) or the “*Gods eye view*” (Gergen, 2008, p. 283), highlights denial that researchers influence the research which they conduct. Conversely, this suggests that all research (qualitative and quantitative) is influenced to a certain extent by the researcher. Therefore, pro-feminist approaches emphasise the need for reflexivity, which identifies and acknowledges the researchers influence on the research question; and themselves as the main research tool.

With these pro-feminist standpoints, the question which remains may ask whether men may contribute to pro-feminist research. Hearn (1998) suggests that men are able to contribute to pro-feminist approaches through the process of ‘men-changing-men.’ Furthermore many studies of violent men appear to be based on female victim reports (Londt, 2004), which emphasises the need for studies with men. As Russell (1988, p. 8), a prominent pro-feminist researcher, puts it: “*It is also a treat to read a number of contributions from men who identify as feminist researchers.*”

Ptacek (1988) suggests, in agreement with pro-feminist principles, that men who are perpetrators of domestic violence can contribute to a pro-feminist understanding of women’s oppression by sharing their (men’s) experiences. The researcher, irrespective of whether they are male or female, should ensure that the research is clear to the reader who can see the context which is used to evaluate the research. As a man researching men, the researcher should limit their emotional responses and be aware of their own paternal attitudes, such as perceiving themselves as ‘women defenders’ (Ptacek, 1988).

Ultimately, the aim of pro-feminist approaches is to improve the lives of women. This can be done by exploring the experiences of women - and men - who are

involved in domestic violence (Yllö & Bograd, 1988) in such a way that adheres to the values assumed by pro-feminist researchers. It is this explorative disposition, which focuses on contextual and in-depth data, that connects the 'pro-feminist voice' with qualitative methodologies. Consequently, this study uses IPA as this will elicit in-depth and subjective experiences. IPA also emphasises the role of the researcher, which is to establish rapport with participants (Sciarra, 1999; Smith & Osborn, 2003; Willig, 2008; Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2008). In summary, pro-feminist approaches appear to support qualitative research methodologies. More specifically, they share similar objectives, which focus on contextually rich data; understanding the individual; acknowledging the influence of the researcher; and challenging positivist grand theories.

Moving forward, the next section highlights the methodological procedures and data analysis within the context of IPA and pro-feminist approaches.

3.2 Method

The previous section provided an overview of the methodological framework for this study. For clarity, this study uses a qualitative methodological framework within a pro-feminist foundation. This section outlines the methodological procedures and is divided into a number of themes. The first theme delineates the focal research question. The themes which follow, describe the sample; data collection procedures; data analysis using interpretative phenomenological analysis; and ethical considerations and limitations.

3.2.1 Focal research question

This study intends to describe and analyse male perpetrator's experience of domestic violence using interviews. In order to conduct the study, questions were constructed in an open-ended manner to allow participants to reflect on their own personal experiences. Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA; Smith, 2003; Smith & Osborn, 2003; Willig, 2008) was used to interpret and analyse experiences

within the context of what domestic violence means for male perpetrators. The key objectives of this study are listed below:

- a) Explore the experience of domestic violence from the male perpetrator's perspective;
- b) Explore the way in which male perpetrators understand domestic violence and their own behaviour;
- c) Explore the meanings that male perpetrators attach to their behaviour and experience of domestic violence.

3.2.2 Sample

Obtaining a sample of male domestic violence perpetrators can be a challenging task. Similarly, other researchers have also identified difficulty in recruiting male perpetrators (Cavanagh, et al., 2001; Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004). Complex political, ethical and methodological issues can occur when using male perpetrators of domestic violence as a sample (Gortner, Gollan, & Jacobson, 1997). Firstly, domestic violence is a private and sensitive issue, which might not be easily spoken about, and men may resist participation in such research. Secondly, men may use participation in studies as a way of getting a good report or probation (Reitz, 1999). Lastly, there may also be limited intervention programmes where researchers may have access to male perpetrators.

To ensure that participants had already been identified as perpetrators of domestic violence, the author approached a Non Governmental Organisation (NGO) that provides a domestic violence rehabilitation programme for men. The name of the NGO has been omitted for confidentiality purposes. Written permission was obtained from the organisation to allow the research to take place.

For this study a sample consisting of 20 participants was initially selected. Selections required potential participants to volunteer following an informed consent

session. However, only 12 participants were available to attend interview sessions. Many participants either forgot about their appointments or continually excused themselves without providing a valid reason. An appointment attendance record may be found in Appendix A.

A demographic summary, which provides an overview of the sample, may be found in Appendix B. The mean age for participants in this study was 34.5. The study consisted of 6 coloured men; 5 white men; and 1 black man (*). All participants in this study had received schooling up until or beyond *Standard* 8. No participants held university degrees, while 2 participants reported to have tertiary qualifications. Only 2 participants were unemployed at the time of the study. The majority of participants were married ($n = 7$), while 3 were divorced. One (1) participant was single and 1 was engaged.

For the purpose of this research, I have included men in heterosexual relationships who have committed acts of domestic violence against their intimate women partners. Women partners were excluded from the study. Participants who completed interviews were remunerated for travel expenses to and from the interview venue.

3.2.3 Data collection

Data was collected using a semi-structured interview; and in two stages over a period of 6 months. This theme is divided into three sub-themes, which outline the procedure used to collect data. The first sub-theme details the research instrument. The second sub-theme explains the first stage of data collection and outlines the procedure prior to the interview. The final sub-theme describes the second stage of data collection, which illustrates the interview protocol.

* Race categories have been identified in terms of the Employment Equity Act (1998). The author of this study also acknowledges the unfair discriminatory practice of using 'racial categories' during Apartheid. Therefore, the intention of including such 'racial categories' is to ensure representivity in the context of the Act; and to identify areas where representivity is required.

3.2.3.1 *The research instrument*

A semi-structured interview, in which the responses to questions guide the interview, was used for this study. This is different to a structured interview where the questions are manipulated to reflect and guide directly towards the research topic (Charmaz, 2003).

Pro-feminist researchers support the interview as a good research tool due to its exploratory nature (Yllö & Bograd, 1988). By their nature, interviews may suggest that one interview may be entirely different to another. Therefore, Willig (2008) highlights this as positive, as every new set of data is unique and can be added to the existing literature on a particular phenomenon. Furthermore the interview is a story of the individual's experience and may provide rich contextual and subjective data. The quote below highlights the depth captured within an interview:

"Stories offer not only information about experiences but more importantly insight into attitudes, feelings, thoughts, meanings and reasoning" (Bochner, Ellis, & Tillmann-Healy, 1997, cited in Wood, 2004; Vangelisti, Crumley, & Baker, 1999, cited in Wood, 2004).

Ptacek (1988) suggests that 'challenging questions' should be used once all the formal data has been obtained to avoid superficial or dishonest responses from participants. The interview should also be guided by participant's responses, descriptions or experiences, which are unclear to the researcher and require clarification (Reitz, 1999; Smith, 2003; Willig, 2008; Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2008).

Interviews lasted between one hour and 90 minutes. They explored sensitive areas of men's lives, their relationships, their behaviours, their attempts to stop their behaviour and anything they felt was important to their experience of domestic violence. Therefore an interview schedule was used to guide the author during the interviews. Smith and Eatough (2007) support the use of an interview schedule for semi-structured interviews as it may compel the interviewer to consider difficulties that may be experienced – prior to conducting the interview. A copy of the interview

schedule may be found in Appendix C. The next sub-themes describe the procedure before, and after the interview.

3.2.3.2 Informed consent prior to the interview

A research proposal document was submitted to an Ethics Review Board for approval prior to commencement of this study. The author then conducted a short informed consent session with approximately 20 men who were attending the rehabilitation programme (Appendix D: Informed consent session plan). All potential participants were informed that participation was voluntary and would have no impact on the treatment they were receiving as part of the programme. Potential participants were also given the opportunity to ask questions relating to the study. Informed consent letters (Appendix E: Informed consent letter) and informed consent forms (Appendix F: Informed consent forms) were then handed to the entire group of men who were attending the programme.

To maximise confidentiality, the author asked all potential participants to write their name and contact details on a piece of paper. The papers were then folded and collected by the author. This step ensured that participants were also not aware of who would be participating in the study. Appointments for interviews were privately negotiated with participants who volunteered to participate.

3.2.3.3 Interview protocol

Phone calls were made one day before each interview. An SMS (*short message service*) was also sent to participants on the morning of their interview. Participants completed a demographic questionnaire (Appendix G: Demographic questionnaire) with information which included: age, education, employment information, religious affiliation and marriage history.

Smith and Osborn (2003) suggest that interviews should be conducted at an office or at any other place that might be convenient for participants. Interviews for this study were conducted on the premises of the NGO prior to their group therapy sessions.

An open-ended, semi-structured interview, which discussed perpetrators' understanding and experience of domestic violence, followed the demographic questionnaire.

The interview commenced with the question: "*Could you tell me what brought you to a male perpetrator rehabilitation programme?*" Sensitive probing only took place once rapport had been established. Therefore the first part of the interview focused on establishing rapport and making participants feel comfortable. Smith and Osborn (2003) support this process of establishing rapport as it creates a safe environment for participants to converse. Participants' responses then lead the interview. Notably, establishing rapport with some participants took longer than expected. However, the researcher maintained the focus by bringing the participant back to the initial question. No problems were experienced during the interviews for this study. Interviews were tape recorded, transcribed and subject to an interpretative phenomenological analysis.

3.2.4 Analysis of the data using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

This study uses interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) to collect and analyse data. The first section of this chapter provided an introduction and contextual definition to IPA. This sub-theme provides an operational definition of how to analyse data using IPA.

Ricoeur (1991) suggests using a hermeneutic circle of interpretation, which is the process of understanding data as it emerges within the context. IPA does exactly this and is summarised into 5 steps, which are outlined below (Smith, 2003; Storey, 2007; Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999; Willig, 2008; Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2008).

The first step is to familiarise oneself with the newly obtained data by reading through the transcribed interviews a number of times. Reading through the transcript provides the researcher with a general overview of the interview (Smith & Osborn, 2003).

The second step involves a 'line-by-line' analysis of each transcript where comments are made at each line (Charmaz, 2008). Comments identify the use of language; meaning; sense of self; identity; control; stereotypes; and contradictions. However, Smith and Osborn (2003) emphasise that there are no strict guidelines for a line-by-line analysis, and that comments should focus on meaning and understanding in the context of the research question. Once comments have been added to each line of the transcript, the researcher is then required to return to the beginning of the transcript and assign emerging themes to each line (Willig, 2008).

The third step entails connecting emerging themes and clustering them onto a separate list or 'theme-table.' This process provides an overview of themes and sub-themes. Furthermore, it may also be easier to work with a table as opposed to a long transcript (Smith & Eatough, 2007).

The fourth step requires an analysis of each individual case where consistent and new emerging themes are identified. This allows the researcher to identify common themes which exist across all the interviews; and themes which are not recurring. Following this, the researcher may also explore the differences between themes; why some themes were consistent; why some themes only occurred once; and a number of other variations.

The fifth stage is used to check for contradictory arguments, bias interpretation and produce a final write up, or discussion of the results. Smith and Osborn (2003) suggest the possibility of a theme audit, which allows an independent researcher the opportunity to follow the analytic journey from the raw data to the final list of themes. However, this may not always be possible as the process may be lengthy. The write up should ensure that emerging themes are discussed and compared with existing literature. It should also report current findings and confirm whether new findings have been identified – in the context of meaning units and the research question. Citations from the transcripts may also be used and edited, for clarity and confidentiality, respectively.

Notably, the author followed the IPA guidelines which appear in the literature (Smith, 2003; Smith & Osborn, 2003; Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999; Willig, 2008; Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2008).

3.2.5 Ethics for qualitative research

A research proposal for this study was presented to; and approved by the University of Cape Town - Department of Psychology - Ethics Review Board. Brinkmann and Kvale (2008) emphasise the function of an ethics review board, which is to highlight any ethical problems and recommend whether a study should or should not take place. Permission was also obtained in writing from the NGO in order to allow access to participants.

There are a number of factors, which researchers should consider in order to conduct ethical research. Therefore, this theme is divided into three sub-themes. The first sub-theme defines ethical considerations for all studies using human participants. The second sub-theme explores issues of validity in qualitative research. The final sub-theme highlights positivist limitations for qualitative research.

3.2.5.1 Research ethics with human subjects

The act of considering potential ethical dilemmas may be considered as the first step towards ethical research in itself (Cieurzo & Keitel, 1999). Ethics require researchers to consider real or potential ethical dilemmas, which may arise in the course of their research. As this study uses human participants, ethical considerations have been included from the beginning. Working with human subjects requires rigorous ethical considerations prior to; during; and after a research study (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2008; Cieurzo & Keitel, 1999). Therefore a number of ethical considerations are highlighted within this sub-theme. They focus on four (4) main cornerstones of research ethics when conducting research with human subjects. These cornerstones are informed consent; confidentiality; consequences; and the role of the researcher (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2008; Willig, 2008; Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2008).

The process of negotiating informed consent was a central ethical consideration in this study. Participants received information about what would be required from them during this study, so that they could provide informed consent about their understanding of the potential problems associated with their participation (Elmes, Kantowitz, & Roediger, 1999). In particular, participants were told that this study would explore the experience of domestic violence from their own perspective using a single interview, which would last no longer than 2 hours; which would be transcribed; and written up in the form of a master's thesis, which may potentially be published in a journal article. Participants were informed that they were able to withdraw from the study at any time. Standard consent forms were issued and signed prior to the commencement of interviews.

Given that domestic violence is a topic often shrouded in secrecy and one which is highly stigmatised, this study took a strong stance to ensure confidentiality. Pseudonyms were used to ensure that all information remained anonymous. This meant that any information which was provided could not be traced back to participants. Similarly, information was not shared with their partners. The clinicians working with the perpetrator rehabilitation programme were also not informed of who was participating in this study. Given that participation in the study was voluntary, men's rights to privacy were also ensured.

Ethical research ensures that there is a minimal risk to participants. Arguably, research with human subjects poses potential risks depending on the nature of the research question. Cieurzo and Keitel (1999, p. 69) refer to this process as "*protection from harm*." In response to protecting participants, Brinkmann and Kvale (2008) suggest using deception only when it is fundamentally necessary. No forms of deception were employed in this study as this was not required. In other words, participants were informed - as much as possible - about all aspects of this study. This step minimised the risk of potential or unknown after-effects as a result of the research. However, it also meant that potential participants could decide not to partake in the research due to the nature of the topic. Participants were debriefed following the interviews. Referrals for further counselling were in place as an interim measure if this was required. It should be noted that no participants in this study required a referral for additional counselling following an interview. Their current participation in an already

constituted domestic violence group served as a further safety net for participants in this study.

The role of the researcher has already been discussed in the previous section. However, ethical considerations highlight the difficulty of the dual role between being a researcher and being a counsellor or therapist, which may be encountered in studies of this nature (Rosenblatt, 1995). Cieurzo and Keitel (1999) suggest that the role should focus more on the researcher, and that therapeutic intervention should take place through a formal referral for counselling. This approach was adopted in this study, and arrangements were in place with an NGO should additional counselling be required.

This study appears to be consistent with ethical guidelines for qualitative studies with human subjects. Additional ethical factors such as consent, autonomy, nonmaleficence and the impact of reporting the results of the study were taken into account (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). Finally, participants were also monitored through the author's continued involvement; and their attendance of a rehabilitation programme. As a result, no participants reported or presented any distress following interviews.

3.2.5.2 Establishing validity in qualitative research

Potentially, addressing issues of validity appear to be essential ethical considerations. In other words, validity issues question the 'trustworthiness' of the research. Yardley (2008) defines the validity of qualitative research in the context of how well research has been conducted. However, she also cautions against the assumption that issues of validity are the same for qualitative and quantitative research. Therefore, this sub-theme provides a brief overview of qualitative validity issues which are applicable to this study.

Seemingly, establishing validity for qualitative research may be a challenging task (Willig, 2008). Therefore, Yardley (2008, p. 239) highlights a "*validity toolbox*" for qualitative research. Six of these 'toolbox items' are discussed below.

The first item is called coding and appears to be one of the most important validity measures for qualitative research (Payne, 2007; Willig, 2008; Yardley, 2008). Coding refers to the use of a second researcher who will verify that emerging themes are correct (Yardley, 2008). Similarly, this process also requires the second researcher to validate interpretations. Interpretation and researcher bias are also associated with the role of the researcher (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2008; Cieurzo & Keitel, 1999; Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2008). Therefore, qualitative researchers are encouraged to continually ensure that validity is maintained throughout the research, which includes identifying themes and producing a write-up. Steps were taken in order to limit researcher bias for this study. Therefore the author worked closely with a university supervisor to ensure that potential researcher bias was minimised.

The second item measures whether the study has a full comprehension of the context of a phenomenon. In other words, it should include any theoretical explanations and the results of similar studies. Evidence of this is discussed in this study's literature review. Thirdly, reflexivity is a critical validity measure in qualitative research. Reflexivity should indicate the extent to which the study acknowledges the impact of the researcher and the participant (Willig, 2008). The impact and role of the researcher has been mentioned in the previous section. Similarly, the potential difficulty of participants not being able to express themselves has also been discussed in the previous section. Fourthly, the study should be rigorous to ensure that the same analysis is conducted with each transcript. The IPA specifically points out that each transcript should be analysed independently before moving onto the next. The fifth measure of validity indicates whether the analysis is consistent. Similarly, IPA specifies how to collate themes which appear consistently in the data (Smith & Osborn, 2003; Willig, 2008). Furthermore, the author worked closely with a supervisor to ensure that consistency was evident throughout the study and write-up. The sixth validity measure intends on evaluating the impact of the study. Therefore, it asks whether the study has the potential to make a difference in the knowledge base of a particular phenomenon. Final recommendations on the impact of this study and the use of the findings are discussed in the concluding chapter.

3.3 Summary of chapter

This chapter explains the methodology for this study. It commences with a discussion on the history of qualitative methodologies and ongoing opposition with positivist quantitative methodologies. Historically, a long rivalry between the two exists. Therefore, the rivalry may be better understood through identifying differences between the two methodological approaches. Essentially, qualitative research explores while quantitative research explains. Similarly, Baker (2006) and Gergen (2008) concur, as they suggest that quantitative research is too restricted and cannot ask elaborate questions. Similarities between qualitative methodologies and pro-feminist approaches to research are also included. In other words, both qualitative and pro-feminist approaches appear to have similar developmental paths (Bunch, 1990; Londt, 2004; WHO, 2000; Walker, 1999); and oppose the objectives and rationale of quantitative research.

The response from society and pro-feminist academia pushes empowering women to the forefront. Seemingly, Schechter's (1988) supreme vision of empowering women appears to be prevalent today. The literature concurs that qualitative research methodologies support pro-feminist objectives, which explore alternative ways to protect and empower women. Bograd (1988) mentions advocacy for women, which incorporates women working 'equally,' rather than as part of a pre-existent patriarchal social science world. Similarly, in South Africa, the Employment Equity Act (1998) actively promotes the employment of women and previously disadvantaged individuals.

The second section provides a guideline on how the study was conducted and analysed. Both these procedures appear to be rooted within a pro-feminist approach. This is supported through pro-feminist research (Gondolf, 2007; Ptacek, 1988; Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004; Yllö & Bograd, 1988) that suggest working with men (perpetrators in this instance) is an important component of holistically understanding domestic violence. Consequently, the interview was used as the research instrument and is also acknowledged by pro-feminist approaches. This is highlighted by Gergen (2008) and Baker (2006), who argue that feminism explores alternative ways of understanding;

and that individual experiences provide important information. Therefore, they make the connection between using interviews to explore individual experiences.

IPA was used as the analytical framework. Guidelines on how to conduct IPA were outlined in five steps making the analytical component of the study transparent. Ethical considerations were also highlighted and included ethics when working with human subjects; and validity issues. Ethically, a strong emphasis on informed consent, confidentiality and potential risk were adopted for this study. A number of validity measures were used in order to ensure that the study demonstrates good validity. These validity measures include coding; contextualising; reflexivity; rigour; individual analysis consistency; and cross analysis consistency (Yardley, 2008).

This chapter illuminates the connection between qualitative methodology, pro-feminist approaches and IPA. The following chapter discusses the results and analysis within the context of the methodology, which is outlined in this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

MEN'S PERSPECTIVES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Participants in this study described their understanding and meanings they ascribed to their behaviour in relation to the context of domestic violence. During the interviews, participants accentuated what they perceived were the most significant elements of their experience. Therefore, the analysis of their understandings of domestic violence was divided into a number of sections where emerging themes are discussed in detail. This chapter includes four sections which explore definitions of abuse; the context of violence; identity as a perpetrator; and constructions of the intimate relationship.

4.1 Definitions of abuse

In order to explore participants' understanding of their behaviour, interviews were examined using a line-by-line analysis. A number of themes which explored definitions of domestic violence emerged. The content of these themes is discussed within this section. The first theme looks at generic understandings of domestic violence. This theme also consists of four sub-themes which explore men's understanding of different forms of abuse. These include physical, verbal, financial and emotional abuse. The second theme explores men's understanding of the causes of their aggression.

4.1.1 Generic understandings of 'domestic violence'

The interviews focused on men's understanding of different forms of abuse. Denzin (1984) emphasises that defining abusive behaviour is essential for perpetrators who will then come to identify their own behaviour as abusive. What this suggests is that identifying abusive behaviour may also be a way of taking responsibility. Participants presented a range of sometimes contradictory statements regarding their understanding of the term 'domestic violence.'

Some admitted that their behaviour was wrong while at the same time believing that abusive behaviour was somehow justified.

“So although on the other side I knew I was wrong. But there I was the man. I was the man in the home so I thought I can overrun my wife. The result it didn’t help me.”

In the excerpt above Andrew admitted that his abusive behaviour was wrong. However, he also cited his position as a man as a reason for using abusive behaviour (Gregg, 2005; Russell, 1995). In other words, he links his violent behaviour to ideas about masculinity. Similarly, Dale identifies the problem when he refers to his aggressive behaviour in the excerpt below:

“When I was with her I was becoming very aggressive and I just wanted to fight and was very vindictive.”

Dale identifies his behaviour as aggressive. However, he appeared to be blaming his partner, as he specified that he became more aggressive when he was with her. In other words, if she was not present then he would not use aggression. Like Andrew and Dale, many other participants in this study identified their abusive behaviour as the problem. However, their admission appeared to be accompanied by distorted rationalisations, justifications and responses such as blame (Cavanagh, et al., 2001; Goodrum, et al., 2001; Hearn, 1998; Presser, 2003; Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004). In many instances, their stories were often contradictory. For example, Andrew mentioned a different outlook of domestic violence later in the interview.

“I’m talking about what I have done to her [domestic violence]. It is wrong. This is a disease. For a human being this is a serious thing.”

In the excerpt above, Andrew appeared to view domestic violence as a disease. Potentially, labelling domestic violence as a disease allows the abusive behaviour to be excused in some way. In other words, if violent behaviour is part of a disease it may be considered unavoidable, beyond the individual’s control and therefore excusable (Cavanagh, et al., 2001).

Some participants constructed an understanding of domestic violence by justifying the act of violence (Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004). Gavin, who had entered the final phase of the rehabilitation programme, made the following statement after the interview, and after the tape was turned off.

“Domestic violence is as a result of women’s behaviour. It’s cause and effect.”

What was interesting about Gavin’s statement was that he displayed remorse throughout the interview until the point where the tape recorder was turned off. He then resorted to blaming his partner for his abusive behaviour. Therefore, in his conceptualisation, domestic violence was a product of his partner’s behaviour. This response is of great concern given that men who complete a perpetrator programme might not significantly change their attitudes and ultimately their domestically violent behaviour. It may also illustrate how some men are able to present socially desirable responses within the context of the treatment programme.

In addition to participants’ descriptions of how they understood domestic violence, there were also a range of ways in which participants named (and did not name) their abusive behaviour. For example:

“And I think that there was just a lack of communication and we don’t talk about what happened. I never talk about it [domestic violence].”

In the excerpt above, Pieter avoided using the term ‘domestic violence.’ Potentially, using this term would have labelled him as an abuser. Therefore, avoiding using the term meant avoiding being labelled as an abuser (Goodrum, et al., 2001). Pieter also shared the responsibility of communication with his partner. In some way, he reconstructs what transpired in his relationship as a *“lack of communication”* in which he contends that his partner, therefore also holds some of the responsibility.

Extreme physical violence was not limited to intimate partners. In other words, for some men violence appeared to be extended towards others. Dale and Jonathan both appeared to use violence outside of their intimate relationships. Interestingly, Dale indicated that it was his violence against others which caused him to seek treatment.

“Because what’s going to happen, I’m going to end up killing somebody or somebody is going to kill me. So after a while, after seeing him [a counsellor] a few times he says to me um just think about it there is a men’s group. He explained it to me and he said you know that have a choice.”

In the excerpt above, Dale highlighted the severity of his aggressive behaviour. He also appeared concerned that his aggressive behaviour could result in him killing someone which would lead to serious criminal charges. Notably, Dale seemed to deny abusing his partner and stated his abuse to others and not to her (Cavanagh, et al., 2001; Dutton, 1986; Eisikovits & Buchbinder, 1997; Ptacek, 1988). His description dissociated him from being an ‘abuser.’ Ultimately, Dale seemed to have recognised his generally aggressive behaviour as a problem which was affecting other areas of his life. This finding appears to be inconsistent with the findings in Wood’s (2004) study (with male offenders who were serving a prison sentence for domestic violence) in the USA. What the current study suggests is that some participants appeared to identify their behaviour as the cause of the problem, while participants in Wood’s (2004) study appeared to rationalise why they had committed violent acts. Reasons for this difference may suggest that participants in Wood’s (2004) study presented likable images for their own benefit – such as a reduced prison sentence.

Participants appeared to use similar responses and cognitive patterns. These are evident in the excerpts above which identify justification, dissociation, denial and remorse (Cavanagh, et al., 2001; Goodrum, et al., 2001; Hearn, 1998; Presser, 2003; Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004).

Following men’s generic understanding and naming of domestic violence, their perceptions of what constitutes physical, verbal, financial and emotional abuse was also examined.

4.1.1.1 Men’s understanding of physical abuse

The first sub-theme identified physical abuse, which was the most obvious form of abuse and was present in all participants’ accounts of domestic violence. During interviews, participants were asked what they understood by physical abuse.

Interviewer: *"I'd like to know more about your behaviour and throwing her onto the bed? What types of abuse took place in your relationship and how did you understand them?"*

Chris: *"Verbal, definitely. Physical, the throwing. And I think sexual, withholding sex."*

Interviewer: *"From her side or your side?"*

Chris: *"From my side."*

Interviewer: *"You would withhold?"*

Chris: *"Yeah because I know it drives her mad."*

Interviewer: *"How did she respond?"*

Chris: *"She would argue. She didn't like that at all. Like I said we are very sexual."*

The excerpt above showed how Chris identified three distinct types of abuse. He acknowledges using verbal abuse but does not define it. He constructs the physical form of abuse as throwing his partner onto the bed and the sexual form as *"withholding sex."* This latter construction is interesting as it is not typically how sexual abuse is defined (Wood, 2004). Furthermore, his construction of this experience suggests that his partner is responsible as she is the one that would 'start an argument.' In a different way he re-positions himself as the 'controller' through withholding sex from his partner (Ptacek, 1988; Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2001; Wood, 2004; Yllö & Bograd, 1988).

In the following excerpt Rob describes the physical abuse which took place in his relationship.

"And they were standing outside the house and I got angry and I hit her with my fist in the face. The blood was like starting. But I couldn't help it because she didn't want to listen."

In the excerpt he mentioned hitting his wife which constitutes physical abuse. Seemingly using physical abuse was a way of controlling her behaviour by *"getting her to listen."* Therefore, this suggests that Rob understood that physical violence was

a means of controlling his partner. In a similar way, Dale also explained the worst incident of abuse in his relationship:

“I have never, I’d never touch her. She says yeah but you were aggressive with me and I said no I wasn’t aggressive with you. You were in my way, I grabbed you by the arms and moved you out of the way and I ran to him [ex husband]. I said I didn’t push you. I grabbed you and moved out of my way. Yes with force but I said but I didn’t attack you, or hit you, I didn’t slap you or kick you, I didn’t punch you or anything like that. So no I wasn’t aggressive.”

In the extract above, Dale attempts to make it clear that he was not (and would never be) physically violent toward his partner. He outlines what he considers to be physical violence or aggression, i.e. hitting, attacking, slapping, kicking or punching. As a result, his behaviour, namely, moving her with force and grabbing her arms, could not be considered to be aggression or physical violence. Dale’s characterisation above could be considered to be an instance of minimising the severity of the violence in his relationship.

In a similar way, many participants minimised the severity of the physical abuse that took place within their intimate relationships (Cavanagh, et al., 2001). For example, the following excerpts highlight Justin and Chris’ understandings of minor forms of physical abuse.

“Besides this last incident, minor is when I threw her with a spoon.” [Justin]

“I finger pointed like stop shouting please. And when she was shouting I put my finger on her mouth.” [Chris]

“Because I picked a knife out the kitchen cupboard and I put it down on the counter when I was talking to her. But for me it was just to make her scared. I’ll never hurt her. But of course from her point of view it was she was very scared.” [Chris]

Both Justin and Chris seem to identify throwing objects, finger pointing and intimidation as minor forms of physical abuse. These actions may be considered as

threats as they ‘warn’ the women what may be next. Threats may also be viewed as an individual’s attempt to assert control without using direct force (Winstok & Eisikovits, 2008). While these men name their actions as ‘minor’ it is possible that both Justin and Chris’ partners may have perceived their actions very differently.

While some participants spoke about their physically abusive behaviour; others avoided disclosing this information. The occurrence of low disclosure is also evident in a similar study (Eisikovits & Buchbinder, 1997), which suggested that some abusive men rarely owned up or took responsibility for their abusive behaviour. Interestingly, when some participants were asked how they understood their abusive behaviour, they seemingly referred to why they were attending a rehabilitation programme. The following excerpt illustrated this point, as Pieter voluntarily disclosed why he was attending a rehabilitation programme:

“That was just a slap you know. And um just a slap at that time, at that time. That’s after a month of marriage. A month man... And um she was telling me how I’m not providing and I said ok this and that and whatever. And um...”

In the excerpt his disbelief is expressed when he realised that he physically assaulted his wife early in their marriage. This was evident through his low voice-tone, which was noted throughout the interview and may suggest feelings of shame (Brown, 2004; Rosenbaum & Leisring, 2003; Wallace & Nosko, 1993; Wallace & Nosko, 2003). Pieter also minimised his behaviour by referring to the incident as *“just a slap,”* as opposed to more extreme forms of violence (Cavanagh, et al., 2001). Interestingly the excerpt also highlighted his aggressive behaviour as a response to not being able to live up to the masculine ideal of being the provider (Dawes, et al., 2004). Seemingly his wife suggested that he was not able to conform to the masculine role of ‘provider’ and was thereby attacking his masculinity. He responded with physical violence.

While it is apparent that various forms of physical violence are often minimised, it is also clear that some men held definitions of physical violence that were consistent with traditional definitions of violence (Ptacek, 1988; Yllö & Bograd, 1988). It is not unlikely that these men’s exposure to the definitions of violence, employed in the

perpetrator programme, would have influenced their current understandings of physical abuse. All participants reported that the physical abuse in their current relationships had stopped. However, the literature indicates that once the physical violence ceases, other forms of violence become more prevalent (Edleson & Tolman, 1992; Londt, 2004; Van Wormer & Bednar, 2002). The next sub-theme explored participants' understanding of verbal abuse.

4.1.1.2 Men's understanding of verbal abuse

During the interviews, participants were asked to define verbal abuse. Admissions of verbal abuse towards their partners were candidly mentioned and it is clear that this was considered to be less severe than physical abuse.

Interviewer: *"Tell me about the verbal abuse?"*

Chris: *"Yeah. Swearing. I don't like to shout...."*

Chris defined verbal abuse as swearing. He also mentioned that he did not like to shout. This may be interpreted as an attempt to portray a 'peaceful environment' where he is in control and does not raise his voice. As a result the swearing 'should' be considered as a departure from the norm. In a similar way, verbal abuse was seen to be non-aggressive as illustrated in the following excerpt:

"But my yeah... one of the things I did was verbal abuse. Um mainly to him [her ex husband] but um you know I also threw a couple of things into her face. But I was... I was so angry and when I reach that point. That's when you, you sort of flip over and go onto a red line. That's when you start aiming below. You just want to hurt. You don't care what you do. You just want to hurt the person and I was... I had gone around a few times. I lost it completely."

In the excerpt, Dale explains his understanding of verbal abuse through his experience with his partner's ex-husband. Notably, this pattern of behaviour towards his partner's ex-husband appeared throughout the interview. Dale appeared to use this as a measure to control his partner (Winstok & Eisikovits, 2008). In other words, he would threaten to hurt her ex-husband if she did not 'do as she was told.' Dale also

defined verbal abuse as authoritative and non-aggressive. Making statements that were authoritative appeared acceptable as authoritative statements were perceived to be non-aggressive. In other words, he minimised verbal abuse by emphasising that his verbal attack was not aggressive. His use of an authoritative tone may also be explained as a display of controlling the situation.

Gavin provided an alternative understanding of verbal abuse which is illustrated below:

“Verbal abuse is number one, breaking somebody’s character, deviating from the truth when you are communicating something to them and yeah that’s it, to me. Breaking down somebody’s character by saying something to them that is not true.”

In the instance above, Gavin speaks about the verbal abuse his partner exhibits toward him. Gavin’s characterisation of verbal abuse is quite complex and intuitive – describing a ‘breakdown of someone’s character’ and a ‘deviation from the truth’. This is perhaps not surprising though, given that it is a type of abuse in which he perceives himself as the victim – rather than the perpetrator (Reitz, 1999).

Seemingly, participants understood verbal abuse to include swearing or degrading a partner. Furthermore, it was perceived to be a ‘lighter form’ of abuse and was also minimised by many participants. It was clear that when participants perceived themselves as being the victim, their characterisations of verbal abuse were more complex and insightful.

4.1.1.3 Men’s understanding of financial abuse

Four sub-themes were identified in participants’ understanding of financial abuse. The sub-themes are withholding money; providing insufficient financial resources; unreasonable financial expectations; and illicit spending of communal finances.

Chris understood withholding money to be a form of financial abuse.

Interviewer: *“What do you understand by financial abuse?”*

Chris: *“Is um holding money back that she can’t buy anything. Um if she wants some money she has got to beg me for it. I have the power.”*

Chris’ tone of voice appeared to be humorous when he made this statement. Using humour may have eased potential feelings of shame and minimise the potential seriousness of the financial abuse. Seemingly, withholding money allowed Chris to feel in control as he referred to ‘having the power.’

Tim understood financial abuse as providing his partner with a small amount of money and then expecting too much in return.

“Withholding money in a sense, give her an ‘x’ amount of money and she would only have to run the house with ‘x’ amount of money.”

Tim’s expectation that his partner run the household with the amount of money he provides appears unrealistic. Tim appeared to be setting his partner up for failure. Therefore, when she did not ‘deliver,’ he was able to rationalise his abusive behaviour.

Alan defined financial abuse as pushing his partner to purchase items which she could not afford.

“Well there was a time where I wasn’t working and long story short my wife was transferred down to Cape Town. And I couldn’t find work for some time. A year or two. And then that was the most financial support. But there was stuff prior to that where I got financial gain by pushing the fact that I want a better car or a better bakkie or whatever and we couldn’t really afford it but she still made the plan to go and get it. And even though that put more stress onto her to keep up the payment or whatever.”

Alan's statement highlights his inability to find work while his wife supported the family. In turn he exerted financial pressures on her to provide items which they could not afford. Notably, Alan's behaviour of 'pushing his wife' may be interpreted as a way of controlling her at the risk of increasing debt and her stress levels.

Gavin and Rob were asked what they understood by financial abuse. Both highlighted spending money on drugs as a form of financial abuse.

"Yeah, money that was meant to be spent on the family." [Gavin]

"I would say... For instance, I got R1000. I would say look here there's only R600 and I'd use the rest on drugs. You understand?" [Rob]

Gavin and Rob presented with a long history of substance abuse and incidents where they had bought drugs with 'family money.' Gavin's tone of voice appeared shameful as a result of his dishonesty towards his family. Similarly, Rob appeared to be dishonest about the amount of money he was spending on drugs.

From participant's descriptions above, it appeared that their definitions of financial abuse were consistent with commonly held definitions (Conger, et al., 1990; Conger, et al., 1999). There also appeared to be a link between financial abuse and the exertion of control in the relationship.

4.1.1.4 Men's understanding of emotional abuse

Participants' understanding of emotional abuse elicited a diverse set of responses. Alan's understanding of emotional abuse appears to be quite complex:

Interviewer: *"What do you mean by emotionally?"*

Alan: *"Um... what I could think of is a simple incident is um basically. Simple things lately that came out um I would tell her look if you don't sort, I basically threatened. If you don't sort the children out I am going to sort them out. Um as well as um telling her that I am coming home early and then I am not. I am*

actually staying at work longer because I actually don't want to be at home."

Alan's understanding of emotional abuse included threats and deceit. Threats appeared to be a way of controlling his wife and ensuring that she 'takes care' of the children (Winstok & Eisikovits, 2008). Similarly, Alan also appeared to enforce his control through lying to his wife and telling her he will be home early. This demand ensured that what he 'ordered' would be done and further supports the idea of the home as a male dominated environment.

Gavin, Tim and Dale identified emotional abuse as emotionally hurting a partner or running them down.

"If I have to define emotional abuse it's hurting somebody emotionally by not understanding them, not accommodating them on things that they would like for the right reason."

Gavin defined emotional abuse as not understanding or accommodating a partner. However, he also presented himself as the victim in his statement as he defined emotional abuse based on his partner's behaviour (in a similar way to his earlier construction of verbal abuse by his partner).

Tim defined emotional abuse as running a partner down.

"Emotional is when you actually uh um... I used to run her down. 'You useless cunt.' You uh... 'You are a useless mother.'"

Tim's insults towards his partner appeared to degrade her. His verbal/emotional attack on his partner also represented an attack on her femininity (calling her a "useless mother"). For many women it is through the role of 'mother' that they derive their identity, and thus Tim's attack may be perceived as particularly damaging.

Dale appeared to understand emotional abuse as ‘playing games with her.’

“Um emotional abuse would be you sort of play games with a person and make them feel guilty about everything.”

Dale’s use of games may suggest a platform where he is able to regain control through making his partner feel guilty about everything (Londt, 2004). In this way he assumes the ‘winner’ position. His statement illustrates the intentional use of emotional abuse, while his tone suggested emotional abuse as a normative behaviour. In summary, behaviour which was threatening; emotionally upsetting; and degrading were considered as forms of emotional abuse.

This theme defined men’s understanding of different forms of abuse. Most participants had clear understandings of physical, verbal, financial and emotional abuse. The next theme explored their understanding of aggression, which they highlighted through discussions around their behaviour.

4.1.2 Causes of aggression: A combination of triggers and build-ups

Participants described aggression as a combination of triggers and build-ups. Therefore, two sub-themes were identified in men’s perceptions of aggression and conflict in their intimate relationships. The first sub-theme was identified by participants who understood their aggression as a build-up of events or anticipated events, which caused them to express themselves in an aggressive way (Reitz, 1999). When Tim was asked about whether the build-up could be avoided, his response was that once the build-up had reached a certain point it would be released, using aggression, on the closest person.

“You pressurised and the only way you seem to release that pressure is by doing something and usually you do it to someone or something that’s closest or nearby you.”

Tim described the build up as pressure which was unavoidable. Tim also constructs his aggression as uncontrollable by indicating that the ‘closest’ person has to bear the brunt of his behaviour. A large proportion of participants (one quarter) used a similar construction to Tim, claiming they ‘went blank’ and that the violent behaviour was beyond their control (Cavanagh, et al., 2001). Jennings (1990) describes this process of going blank as an attempt to quell the behaviour and deny responsibility.

The second way in which the causes of aggression were understood was in response to specific triggers. These triggers were also understood to form a part of the ‘build-up’ process (Walker, 1979). More than half of the participants in this study cited issues relating to children as triggers for their aggressive behaviour (Scott Tilley & Brackley, 2005). This highlighted the potential risks for children to be exposed to; or recipients of domestic violence (Holden & Ritchie, 1991). Upon further inspection it was found that the description of the problem was closely linked to disagreements regarding the way in which they interacted, raised and treated their children (Dawes, et al., 2004; Singh, 2003; Straus, 1990).

“We used to argue a lot about the children. The upbringing of the children. I’m very strict.”

Tim quoted arguments about the children as triggers for violent behaviour. Throughout the interview he also related his ‘strictness’ to his childhood where he had a father who was very strict - and abusive. At least in part, Tim seemed to have learnt his abusive behaviour through the way his father treated him when he was a child, illustrating the intergenerational learning of violence (Bandura, 1971; Bell, 1995; Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004; Londt, 2004; Pan, et al., 2006; Shakoor & Chambers, 1991). His strictness and authoritarian manner in dealing with the children also became the source of marital conflict in his relationship, which in some cases lead to incidents of violence.

One third of the participants in this study cited pressure at work as a trigger resulting in aggressive behaviour. Duncan’s statement described his work environment.

“There was a lot of hatred towards my boss and I couldn’t take it out on him. And I took it out on my wife.”

Duncan’s explanation appeared consistent with the “*negative mood spillover model*” (Story & Repetti, 2006, p.690). He explained how his stressful work environment contributed to his violent behaviour at home. He appeared to blame poor relationships with his employer as the reason for his abuse. A gendered perspective is necessary to understand why it was ‘appropriate’ for Duncan to display his aggression toward his wife, but not his employer. In a patriarchal context in which wives come to be understood as the property of their husbands, marital violence is frequently condoned (Russell, 1995).

Although only mentioned by two participants, unplanned pregnancy was also understood to be a trigger which leads to aggressive behaviour. Interestingly, pregnancies were met with suspicion in both accounts. The men perceived their partners’ pregnancies as a sign of infidelity and the research shows that excessive jealousy and constant accusations about infidelity are also a prominent feature of emotional or psychological abuse (Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004; Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986). The findings here are consistent with the literature (see for example, Johnson & Hellerstedt, 2002), showing that pregnant women are at increased risk for violence from their intimate partners.

As the discussion above illustrates, men understood their violence as emerging from an unavoidable build-up of pressure and associated triggers. Given that the violence is constructed as ‘unavoidable’ and ‘uncontrollable,’ it also implies that the primary actors were therefore not culpable. These constructions allowed men to put themselves forward as individuals who were ‘not *really* violent.’

4.1.3 Section summary: Definitions of abuse

This section explored participants’ understandings and definitions of domestic violence. Participants appeared to have a fair understanding of the different forms of abuse and were able to identify forms of abuse in their relationships. Generic

understandings included typical responses such as blame, justification, dissociation and distorted cognitive constructions (Cavanagh, et al., 2001; Goffman, 1971; Goodrum, et al., 2001; Ptacek, 1988; Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004). A number of themes emerged within generic understandings of abusive behaviour. Each theme identified areas of importance for understanding men's perception of domestic violence. Participants could identify physical violence in their relationships. Many participants appeared to minimise their physical abuse; and show remorse and disbelief about their behaviour (Brown, 2004; Rosenbaum & Leisring, 2003; Wallace & Nosko, 1993; Wallace & Nosko, 2003). Sexual abuse was also mentioned within the context of physical abuse. However, few participants mentioned sexual abuse and their understandings of such abuse appeared limited (Wood, 2004). Verbal abuse was presented consistently in this study. Participants appeared to view verbal abuse as less severe and more acceptable (Hearn, 1998).

Participants appeared to understand and identify forms of financial abuse in their relationships. Financial abuse was presented with shame, controlling behaviour and substance abuse. Interestingly, the only form of abuse they identified with difficulty was emotional abuse. Therefore, a range of differing definitions emerged for emotional abuse. Potential explanations for limited insight into emotional abuse may be that this form of abuse is more subtle and is therefore more difficult to identify. Londt (2004, p. 68) concurs that emotional abuse is about playing "*mind games*" and then denying responsibility.

Participants understood their aggression as a combination of triggers and build-ups (Cavanagh, et al., 2001; Reitz, 1999; Walker, 1979). Disagreements relating to children were often presented and may also be considered to be high risk triggers. The next section proceeds and explores how environmental, cultural and social factors were understood by participants; and the impact these factors may have on their violent behaviour.

4.2 The context of violence

This section explored the broader context in which violence is understood to occur. Descriptions of the environments in which participants lived and worked; and potential and perceived risk factors within these environments were included. Two central themes emerged within the analysis. The first theme described the individual and family contexts of abuse, while the second explored cultural contexts of violence.

4.2.1 The individual and family context of abuse

This theme identified four areas of abuse, which appeared to be directly related to the family. Notably, these sub-themes include the experiences of the majority of men in this study. They explored the social learning of domestic violence; the stressful work environment; poor social support networks; and substance abuse.

4.2.1.1 The social learning of domestic violence

Some participants understood their abusive behaviour to be linked to their childhood experiences, reflecting understandings of their abusive behaviour as a learned response (Bandura, 1971; Bell, 1995; Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004; Londt, 2004; Pan, et al., 2006; Shakoor & Chambers, 1991).

“I’d say the history of the violence was growing up in a household as a child and seeing one of the parents actually enacting the domestic violence. My father was very physical, you know, towards my mother and verbal. He used to hit her a lot. But his was caused more through drinking. He had a drinking problem and obviously when he was drunk he would come home and start you know giving a lot of verbal and then he would get physical... and you lying as a boy in the bedroom and there is that fear running through because they see you walking past your bedroom the whole time. It’s scary. It started at a young age seeing this.”

Tim described an unpleasant childhood memory. Seemingly, he experienced severe violence; an abusive father who abused alcohol; and fear as a child. Tim’s

description of his childhood appeared to be similar to his description of how his children were exposed to his own violent behaviour, illustrating how violence is understood to be transmitted from one generation to the next. Similarly, in the following excerpt Rob described the link between his violent behaviour and his childhood.

“Yeah there is a link. I went through my history and stuff and I spoke to my daddy and he said like he was abusing my mom and I saw them and the cops come into the house and take my daddy away. There used to be a lot of fights and stuff like that. So I grew up in this environment of abuse so I have to live with that. But now it’s transferred to me now to my family and my wife and children.”

Rob’s statement implied that his behaviour was ‘passed’ on to him as a result of his violent-ridden childhood. His explanation appeared to excuse him from being violent. In other words, he was not responsible as his violence was a product of his childhood experience. He also described an environment where he was exposed to trauma and ongoing physical abuse.

Both Rob and Tim appeared to witness their fathers abuse their mothers; be on the receiving end of the abuse; and be exposed to long periods of domestic violence within their childhoods (Abrahams, et al., 2006; Diamond & Muller, 2004; Londt, 2004). Similarly, they identified their children’s environment as equally violent and male dominated. Interestingly, they continued to use abusive behaviour despite being aware of the effects on their children. Therefore, the findings in this study appeared to be consistent with the literature, which highlights the risks associated with childhood exposure to domestic violence. These risks include childhood exposure to domestic violence as a significant predictor for violent behaviour (Avakame, 1998; Director & Linden, 2004; Dutton, Van Ginkel, & Starzomski, 1995); other conditions such as mental illness among men (Diamond & Muller, 2004); and emotional and behavioural problems (Carlson, 2000; Evans, Davies, & DiLillo, 2008).

4.2.1.2 The stressful work environment

Participants understood the work environment to influence their behaviour and relationships at home. Responses highlighted poor work relationships and unconventional working hours as problematic. For example:

“Ag you maybe have a shit day or a guy doesn’t help you work or you were under pressure to finish a job or you know you just... I got up on the wrong side of the bed this morning.”

The excerpt above highlighted a strained work relationship and work pressure as stressors (Buchbinder & Eisikovits, 2008; Story & Repetti, 2006). Tim appeared to be reliant on others to assist him at work. He also insinuated having a ‘bad day’ when colleagues were unable to assist him. Consequently, Tim mentioned how his mood at work influenced his behaviour at home.

“You know sometimes I just come home and I’m moody and then I’ll give her hell.”

What transpired in this excerpt was how his frustration at work was transferred into a mood, which was presented at home (Story & Repetti, 2006). Therefore, his experience highlighted how poor work relationships and work pressure had the potential to cause an argument at home.

The second response described the effect of long or irregular working hours on behaviour at home.

“I mean you have to wake up at 4 or 5 o’clock in the morning and come back later. So that thing it has impacted my life.”

Andrew’s position required him to be available at any time and for long periods of time. He also perceived his work requirements to impact his life. As a result, he argued with his wife about being unable to spend time at home. Andrew appeared to construct

a situation showing that work-related stress was central to conflict in the home environment.

This sub-theme identified troubled work relationships, and unconventional working hours as risk factors for arguments, which appeared to escalate into violent behaviour at home. Findings in this study also appeared in the literature which associated long working hours with marital dissatisfaction (Story & Repetti, 2006) and poor family relationships (Crouter, et al., 2001).

4.2.1.3 Poor social support networks

Poor social support networks also emerged as a significant contributor to stress and conflict in the home. Although the family may be an important source of support for individuals, the majority of participants indicated that the family was not their first choice when it came to discussing domestic violence and other personal relationship problems. The following excerpts stressed this point.

Interviewer: *“But when you are together [with his brother] would you tell him about the problems in your marriage?”*

Chris: *“[Long pause] ... No. I didn’t really have anyone to talk to about it. I just go to work and back. No.”*

In the excerpts the interviewer asked participants whether they spoke to anyone about their violent behaviour. Chris indicated that he had no-one to talk to, a sentiment that was also echoed by many other participants in this study. Conversely, some participants indicated that they were able to discuss their violent behaviour with family members.

“Just before um... there was a problem and like we went to go and see my aunty and uncle and we spoke about it and for me it wasn’t like counselling because they didn’t go through the same experience that we are going through now. They gave us guidance and whatever. And how to go about our life and stuff like that but I thought to myself, who are they to tell us like. They didn’t have some like, how can I say, experience in the psychology or anything like that. And then we just left it like that.”

Duncan was able but appeared reluctant to confide in family members. He also cited the inability of family members to deal with the problems they were experiencing. Other participants also appeared to be reluctant to discuss their problems with family members. This is further supported through descriptions of poor and strained relationships with family members.

“I still see my father even though he was never there for us.”

In the excerpt, Justin appeared to have a relationship with his father. However, during the interview he revealed that the relationship was under strain. His statement implied that he felt abandoned by his father as his father was always away.

In a similar way, most participants described poor relationships with their fathers. Furthermore, they viewed their childhood as hostile environments where they didn't trust their fathers to look after them. Only two participants indicated that their relationship with their fathers was positive, while another two said that they felt they could communicate with their fathers. The remainder, and majority, perceived their fathers as having abandoned them or letting them down in some way (Piers & Singer, 1953; Umberson, et al., 1998). Consequently, their experiences of absent fathers may have elicited feelings of 'not being good enough' and resulted in ongoing attempts to prove themselves (Dutton, et al., 1994; Haj Yahia, 2000a). Notably, the sense of 'not being good enough' may also have implications on future relationships; and anticipated abandonment within their relationships with their partners and others.

Participants in this study appeared to have few or no social support networks outside of the rehabilitation programme. It may be that the existence of good social support networks are central for positive change in abusive men. This may be an aspect which should be strengthened in treatment interventions.

4.2.1.4 A cocktail of alcohol and drugs

Alcohol and drug use were presented in two thirds of the men in this study (Abrahams, et al., 2006; Heise & Garcia-Moreno, 2002; McDonald, 1994). Some men saw substance abuse as part of the problem, while others appeared to see habitual use

as appropriate. Using alcohol and drugs appeared to be intricately linked with a dysfunctional lifestyle resulting in violence; using substances to cope; and work related implications.

The following excerpt illustrated how Alan understood his alcohol abuse to be one of the main causes of his violent behaviour.

“I think it (alcohol) did cause problems before yeah... It is something that has been with me for a while. Alcohol has played a fair part in it [violent behaviour].”

In the excerpt, Alan appeared to associate his drinking with his violent behaviour. Throughout the interview he also made reference to being unable to stop using alcohol despite his knowledge that it contributed to his aggressive behaviour. Linking his violent behaviour to alcohol abuse (which he is unable to stop) also implies that in some way he cannot stop or control his violence (Wood, 2004).

In a similar way, drug use was also presented in several participants' descriptions of their environment. Furthermore, it appeared that drug use had various long term and short term effects on participants and their families. Rob appeared to associate his years of drug use with his violent behaviour.

Rob: *“I used over the week, ecstasy and then after that I went to ‘tik’ and then to heroin. But I couldn’t handle it and I became aggressive and an aggressive person.”*

Interviewer: *“As a result of the drugs?”*

Rob: *“As a result of the drug yeah. I used to come home and anything that I have a problem in the house I used to beat them.”*

In the excerpt above, Rob speaks of the drugs as inducing a kind of personality change, making him become an *“aggressive person.”* Both Alan and Rob understood their substance abuse as precursors to their violent behaviour, enabling an evasion of responsibility for their violence (Goffman, 1971; Goodrum, et al., 2001; Ptacek, 1988; Wood, 2004).

Using alcohol and drugs was also perceived as a 'functional coping mechanism' by some participants.

Interviewer: *"Would you drink alone?"*

Alan: *"Ninety percent on my own. I sit there and that's my place. Where I can just sit and think things through. Because I know the moment I walk into the house there is also going to be so many other things that are coming my way. The things that I wanted to think of I am getting solved and banked them so I know what I am doing. You know like my own little diary. That brings the conflict between me and my wife. Because she is very also dominant. And I need to be straight home."*

Alan claimed that alcohol allowed him the opportunity to 'clear his mind' and avoid the perceived problems he was experiencing at home. He also cited his drinking as the cause of arguments with his wife. Potentially, his drinking was a way of maintaining control and not giving in to his wife's 'demands.'

In a similar way, Gavin also viewed his drug use as a mechanism which allowed him to relax.

Interviewer: *"How did the drugs play a role in the abuse?"*

Gavin: *"Um... the drugs make me very passive okay. Especially marijuana. When I smoke marijuana I get passive. She actually enjoys it when I smoke marijuana. Um but the crack, the 'tik' and the 'mandrax,' um... the cocaine. When I used to take cocaine back in the days, I would feel like I was the man. But when I do drugs I am very level headed. It doesn't threaten my focus and my ability ... to see reality."*

In the excerpt above, Gavin appeared to validate his use of marijuana by emphasising its relaxing effect. He also mentioned that his partner sanctioned lighter forms of drug use which seemingly made drug use acceptable. Gavin perceived his use

of drugs as a way to 'loosen up' and maintain his 'focus.' He also appeared to deny the effects of his drug use and failed to mention any negative consequences. Potentially, using drugs allowed Gavin to escape from the reality of his world which appeared to be gloomy. Interestingly, both Alan and Gavin seemed to use alcohol and drugs as a way of escaping their realities of domestic violence. Ironically, it was these 'coping mechanisms' that was also perceived to precipitate their violent behaviour.

Alcohol and drugs were understood to be factors which contributed to men's violent behaviour. On the one hand, some men understood their violent behaviour as a result of alcohol or drug use (Wood, 2004). On the other hand, other men identified alcohol or drugs use as functional ways of dealing with their problems. The literature identified alcohol as an important aspect in understanding the causality of domestic violence (Fals-Stewart, et al., 2005; Wallace & Nosko, 2003). The literature also highlighted other risks, such as HIV and other sexuality transmitted infections, which may be associated with substance abuse (Dunkle, et al., 2006; Johnson & Hellerstedt, 2002; Martin, et al., 1999) and are discussed later in this chapter. It may therefore be essential for rehabilitation programmes in the Western Cape to emphasise substance abuse awareness, and to ensure that adequate referral systems exist for people who are addicted.

4.2.2 The cultural context of abuse: An external matter

This theme explored the broader cultural context of domestic violence. Two sub-themes were identified within a cultural context of abuse. The first sub-theme explored men's understanding of their abuse within the context of religion. The second sub-theme explored men's understanding of violence as the norm within the context of broader society.

4.2.2.1 Religion: Supportive or permissive

Several participants referred to religion and how religious practices may have played a part in their abusive behaviour. Some men highlighted how religious

practices or expectations appeared to support the subordination of women. For example:

“I’d say to a certain extent I am jealous because I am jealous because of court. I don’t like if she is wearing tight fitting jeans. Her frontal and her back is exposed immediately. To men walking around or whatever. Other men look and whatever. It’s fashionable. Like you know wear what you want to wear but why did I convert to Islam. It’s because they, not to compare it to Christianity or whatever, but they cover more their private parts where dress is concerned. And me I know the stuff is fashionable but they still cover the private parts. I didn’t want her to be wearing this and whatever. She would say ‘ya die’ and ‘daai’ is fashionable or whatever. But they were there and I know. She dresses nice. And I know a man. I am a man. And I know they will flirt with her because I am not present. “

Justin related his jealousy as his reason for converting to religious group. He does this by highlighting converting to a religious group as a ‘solution’ for getting his wife to dress in a more conservative way. What this suggests is that he may have used his conversion to Islam to control his partner’s dress sense. Seemingly, his controlling behaviour, of determining her outfit, allowed him to feel ‘in control’ as well as remove the perceived threat of other men. His actions could also be viewed as attempts to gain power and to control his partner under the auspices of a ‘permissive religious right’ (Bhana, et al., 2007; Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004; Raj & Silverman, 2002).

Interestingly, other participants also expressed their reasons for converting to a religion and what this conversion meant in the context of understanding their violent behaviour. They indicated that they felt coerced (by their partners) into converting. However, they also used violence which appeared to support dominance of women in the context of religion. This may suggest a control dynamic (Russell, 1995; Wood, 2001, 2004) where participants converted in order to exert control over their intimate partners. Furthermore, it also highlights how religious groups may minimise or be more accepting of controlling behaviour (Douki, et al., 2003).

In a different way, Jonathan presented a complex understanding of his violent behaviour in the context of religion. He identified converting to a religious group in order to prevent his substance abuse, which was a precursor to violent behaviour.

Jonathan: *“It was just my drinking that was her problem because she was Muslim and I’m Christian.”*

Interviewer: *“Is that still the case or have you converted?”*

Jonathan: *“No. I’ve converted to Islam. 3 years now. Also 3 years married. I still used to drink now and then. But it’s just now before I came to the programme [perpetrators rehabilitation programme] at the beginning of the year I stopped drinking. When I phoned here it was the last weekend when I partied.”*

Jonathan appeared to understand his violent behaviour through his inability to control himself while he was using alcohol. However he used his religious beliefs to assist him to stop abusing alcohol. It could be argued that his religious beliefs appeared to be supportive of non-violence against women as they prevented the precursor (alcohol) to his violence (Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004). Conversely, attributing violent behaviour as a result of alcohol may also be viewed as dissociating from violent behaviour and avoiding responsibility (Wood, 2004).

Different religious beliefs and practices appeared in some participants’ understanding of their violence. Similar findings are also presented in the literature. For example, behaviours or beliefs which legitimise abusive behaviour within religious or cultural practices (Douki, et al., 2003); and, or follow traditional roles for men and women in a religious or cultural setting (Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004; Ellsberg, Peña, Herrera, Liljestrand, & Winkvist, 2000) have also been identified. Interestingly, women partners were reported to pressurise men to convert in order to prevent precursors of abusive behaviour. Equally of interest is that half of the Muslim participants in this study had converted to Islam upon entering their marriages. These findings highlight religious conversions as risk areas regardless of which partner converted; and what the religious group may be. Furthermore, participants’ explanations of their behaviour in the context of religion, appeared to indicate that, at

times, religion may be a 'safe' platform to control women. Undeniably, behaviours such as these should certainly be challenged.

4.2.2.2 Violence as the norm

This sub-theme explored violence as the norm. Three contexts of violence as normative were identified. These included military experience; exposure to community violence; and prison experience.

Several participants mentioned their exposure to violence through the experiences in the military. Participants who had military experience were exposed to severe forms of violence, sometimes over long periods of time.

“Um on the harsher side ... seeing death and being the direct cause of it. I suppose that all plays on it [domestic violence] as well.”

The excerpt above portrayed Chris' experience of exposure to violence and using violence. Chris also made reference to 'being the cause of death' or killing people as part of his experience. He appeared to relate his military experience to his abusive behaviour as he mentioned his military experience 'playing on it.' Chris' verbalisation above reflects a type of desensitisation to violence as a result of being over-exposed to it.

Interestingly, Chris also mentioned entitlement to respect as a result of his military experience.

“He knows most of the cops in the area and so he told them listen here just treat that guy with respect because of who he is and where he comes from or whatever. And when they came in they were very nice and we just sat and spoke.”

The context of the above statement referred to police who were looking for Chris. The 'he' referred to an ex-military colleague who was based in the community. Therefore, Chris mentioned that the ex-military colleague intervened and informed the police to 'respect' him. The fact that he was treated with respect by male colleagues may have reinforced the perception that he was not at fault. Seemingly, from the

excerpt, his expectation was met as the police officers spoke with him calmly. Notably, he was not arrested that evening. This is also an illustration that the police show bias towards men and sanction the 'normative use of violence.'

Andrew also mentioned exposure to severe violence as part of his military experience.

"So there we were trained only to kill. Nothing else but to kill you see. Many forms of killings like planting bombs in victim's bodies' etcetera. And then one of the most terrible one was to face the suspect or the opponents when you kill them."

Andrew highlighted killing as the norm by referring to his training as *"nothing else but to kill."* He also highlighted the intensity of having to kill someone and general exposure to violence. Both Chris and Andrew reported lengthy periods of exposure to violence and using violence as part of their military experience. It is perhaps not unreasonable to assume that these participants may still be traumatised by their experiences of violence in the military.

While Chris and Andrew were exposed to violence during the military, others highlighted exposure to general violence in their communities, often as a result of gang activity.

"But I was an abusive person since the start when we were married. I was abused as a child and I was an abusive person...Uh... I lived in an area where there is a lot of crime, gangsterism and drugs and that's how I think grew up amongst these things."

Rob appeared to understand his violent behaviour as a result of an abusive childhood; and the norm of gang violence in his community. Undeniably, high crime levels, gangsterism and drugs all include acts of violence. Therefore, he appeared to link his violent behaviour to his volatile environment. Again, a desensitisation to violence may occur in such a context (Scott Tilley & Brackley, 2005).

Rob described normative violence in terms of gangsterism in his community. Similarly, he also described his experiences of violence in prison.

“I was young man. I was in prison and you know. In prison like... what sentencing. As a youngster, I was 16 so I experienced it [violence].”

The excerpt above illustrated Rob’s exposure to violence in prison from a young age. Later during the interview Rob mentioned another prison experience which took place more recently.

“When you come in prison and you have raped, it’s not good for yourself because guys will do that to you. Because I will rather go to prison maybe for stealing or fighting, stuff like that.”

The excerpt above highlighted the occurrence of male rape in prisons. Furthermore, Rob appeared to be frightened of being labelled as a rapist as a result of the ‘consequence in prison’ - male rape. Justin’s experience of violence in prison appeared to be very similar to Rob’s.

“Yeah. I mean she would go to extreme levels. I mean at Polsmoor [prison] I was, I was moered [beaten]. I saw two, three guys sodomise one guy. And then me, what count in my favour. I know street life and I know how to go in jail so with the language, ‘sabila.’ And that helped me out. But here and then I got moered really I mean they put the soap in the sock.”

Justin reported physical violence and witnessing male rape during his experience of prison. He appeared to associate his experience of ‘street life’ with coping in prison. Potentially, the ‘street life’ he referred to consisted of violent behaviour in order to defend himself. Ultimately, what this suggested was that physical violence and male rape appeared to be the norm in prisons. In his account above, Justin also appears to blame his wife for sending him to prison, stating that she went *“to extreme levels.”* His construction here could indicate a perception that prison is not an appropriate place for domestic violence offenders.

Seemingly, many participants appeared to be exposed to environments where violence was the norm. Such environments include the military, the communities in which they live and prison. These environments also included over-exposure to

violence; violence as a way of resolving conflict; violence as a means of protection; and rape as a tool to control and maintain dominance. What this suggests is that they may have been desensitised to violence as a result of over-exposure to these environments (Scott Tilley & Brackley, 2005). Therefore, they appeared to use the 'skills that they had learnt from their environments' in their intimate relationships.

4.2.3 Section summary: The context of violence

This section included two main themes. The first theme highlighted the individual and family context of abuse. Ultimately, participants described their violence as a product of their direct family and individual factors. The home was perceived as a hostile environment and appeared to be loaded with tension, debt and unhappy children. Participants also viewed their violent childhood and violent fathers as the source of their violent behaviour. Therefore, they highlighted their understanding of the intergenerational transfer of violence from fathers to sons (Bandura, 1971; Bell, 1995; Londt, 2004; Shakoor & Chambers, 1991). Furthermore, participants understood work pressure and poor work relationships to impact on their violent behaviour at home (Buchbinder & Eisikovits, 2008; Crouter, et al., 2001; Story & Repetti, 2006). In response, social support networks appeared to be inadequate as participants felt that family members were not suitably qualified to assist them. Consequently, they understood alcohol and substance abuse as the cause of severe violence; as unstoppable; as a coping mechanism; and as a functional strategy to avoid responsibility for their violence. These findings made the family environment uninhabitable and a great threat for vulnerable women and children.

The second theme introduced the cultural context of abuse. In other words, abusive behaviour was perceived in relation to external factors. Cultural contexts included belief systems or larger social orders where men located the 'ultimate origin' of their violence. Two dominant cultural contexts were identified. The first one identified violent behaviour within the context of religion. Their understanding of religion suggested it to be a platform for the subordination of women and a 'solution' to control women (Bhana, et al., 2007; Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004; Dawes, et al., 2004). Conversely, they also understood religion as a pro-feminist measure when it

prevented precursors, such as alcohol, to their violence. Interestingly, the concept of coerced conversion emerged during this study. Religious conversion appeared to cause tension which transpired into violent behaviour.

The second cultural context identified ‘violence as the norm’ in a larger societal framework. In other words, some men in this study were exposed to the ‘normative use of violence’ in the military; gangsterism in the community; and prisons. It could also be argued that participants may be desensitised to the use of violence through exposure to severe violence. Therefore, resulting in the perception that violence is ‘acceptable.’ In a different way, not all men were influenced by every cultural context. Therefore, it may not be possible to associate violent behaviour within a specific cultural context alone. Other researchers (Abrahams, et al., 2006; Jewkes, et al., 2002; Scott Tilley & Brackley, 2005) have also highlighted exposure to violence as a risk factor for perpetrating intimate partner violence. However, this study identifies particular larger cultural contexts where exposure to severe violence was identified by male perpetrators. It is through identifying these contexts that treatment programmes are constantly developed (Eisikovits & Buchbinder, 1997; Meel, 2006; Scott Tilley & Brackley, 2005; Reitz, 1999).

4.3 Male perpetrators: Identities in crisis

Participants expressed a range of self descriptions, emotions and behaviours when they described their understanding of their abusive behaviour and domestic violence. This section categorised these self-descriptions into three sub-themes which encapsulated participants’ identities as perpetrators. The themes which emerged explored changing identities; constructions of masculinity; and men as victims of a biased legal system.

4.3.1 Changing constructions of identity

Men in this study expressed a number of self-descriptions throughout the interviews. An analysis of these self-descriptions highlighted being honest, driven, disciplined, strong-willed; and moody, jealous, possessive and intimidating.

Seemingly, they presented a ‘mixed bag’ in the context of their identity. In general, participants described themselves in both positive and negative terms. In other words they presented polarised self-descriptions as, good (‘non-abuser’), bad (‘abuser’) or a combination thereof (Mead, 1934; Reitz, 1999). Therefore, the need for participants to explore their identities became evident during the interviews. Ultimately, men’s identities were constructed into the negative or positive self; and the pre or post abuser.

4.3.1.1 The pre and post abuser

The concept of the ‘old self’ and the ‘new self’ emerged during the interviews. Participants described their identities in the context of previous violent behaviour and behaviour which took place during or after a treatment intervention. The ‘old self’ consisted of negative descriptions which are mentioned above. The ‘new self’ described a ‘modified’ individual.

The ‘new self’ was more appropriately termed the ‘now phase’ and described men’s understanding of themselves during or after treatment. Within the ‘now phase,’ three sub-themes were identified. The first sub-theme described the way in which participants altered their responses to situations. The following excerpts illustrated participants who were in the ‘now phase’ and who appeared to take responsibility for their behaviour:

“To rather to... to plan my actions through before I actually do them. To reason with myself. And say listen what are you going to get out of this. Is this the right thing? I am questioning myself rather than emotionally um...”[Rob]

“I’m taking more responsibility now... I don’t like to walk away from the problem. I want to solve it and that’s what I want to do you know.”[Chris]

Both Rob and Chris appeared to be responding in non-violent ways. Rob mentioned self questioning; and thinking through his actions prior to responding. Possibly, his response may slow the ‘build-up’ and allow him to make safer response

choices. In a similar way, Chris began to take responsibility for his behaviour by acknowledging the problem and his commitment to work at it.

A second sub-theme emerged when protocols to prevent abusive behaviour (safety plans) were raised during the interviews. Evidence to support this change in response is highlighted in the following excerpts.

“Yeah it’s been practical. Things we have learnt. Because a lot of the information that I get out here from the counsellors point of view I did try to play into my own world.” [Alan]

“It hadn’t crossed my mind and hopefully it will stay like that. I don’t think I will do it again. If I think back now how I used to hit her and stuff like that I will kick myself in the butt if I could. Our relationship has come on and even our friends will tell me you changed a lot.” [Jonathan]

The first excerpt highlighted thinking differently as a practical skill which was developed to respond without using violence. This suggested that Alan appeared unable to select non-violent responses without the intervention of a counsellor. Therefore, attending a rehabilitation programme appeared to be constructive. The second excerpt highlighted remorse when Jonathan mentioned he ‘could kick himself.’ He also stated that he would not use violence again through making use of support networks. This response appeared to be useful in receiving informal feedback and preventing violent behaviour.

A third sub-theme emerged through participants’ sense of personal growth and insight into feelings which they experienced following the interviews. One participant commented: *“It felt good to tell the truth”* while another said: *“I’m not fully healed.”* Both participants appeared to be in the ‘now phase’ and their comments revealed a sense of relief and insight into becoming better men. These statements appeared to be promising, and reflected personal growth and constructive learning. In summary, they created a new identity which incorporated responsibility for previous behaviour; protocols to prevent abuse; and personal growth (Contrino, et al., 2007; Vincent, 2006).

4.3.2 Constructions of masculine identity

Participants' understanding of masculinity emerged through statements referring to beliefs about men's behaviour, attitudes and how men were perceived by others. As a result, a number of sub-themes emerged in men's constructions of masculinity. These sub-themes are discussed below.

4.3.2.1 *Who's the boss?*

The most dominant theme referred to participants' understanding of their role(s) within their relationship. Men in this study appeared to view their roles as the 'dominant superior' or the 'sharing partner.' The dominant superior adhered to patriarchal beliefs which place men in the central and superior position (Russell, 1995).

"I was the boss at home. In my eyes before I came here [rehabilitation programme] I was the boss. What I said was word. Did no cooking, did no dishes, I did no washing. I used to tell her it's not my job. I don't do these things."

Tim mentioned his role in the relationship and in the home. Simply put, he was in charge and his wife would follow his demands. His statement indicated his adherence to a patriarchal belief system where men are superior and women are subordinate (Gregg, 2005). In a similar way, Jonathan referred to his role in his new marriage.

"In my first marriage I never had violence. It's just maybe because of what I did in my first marriage and um... I told myself that another woman is not going to [control me] ... I'm not going to be like a 'moffie.'"

Jonathan's statement mentioned him not being like a "moffie" which is a derogatory term for a homosexual. Through his statement he implied that being a "moffie" meant being controlled by a woman. Later during the interview, Jonathan also mentioned his agitation when his wife was not fulfilling his expectations of her prescribed gender role (Hearn, 1998).

“Yeah. And it used to agitate me that I used to get cross. I mean you at home and you come from work and there is nothing and now I must come stand in front of pots. I mean I am thinking about the kids I am not thinking about myself.”

In the excerpt, Jonathan appeared to become frustrated when no food was prepared upon his return from work. His entire description of his situation implied his understanding of the family as a patriarchal structure - which supported the mother as the primary child-carer and meal provider (Raj & Silverman, 2002; Shefer, et al., 2008; Vincent, 2006).

In a similar way, Gavin also perceived child care as his wife’s responsibility.

Interviewer: *“How do you feel when she is not there? You mentioned having too look after the baby.”*

Gavin: *“Yeah its [childcare] a tremendous pressure. Even back in the days when I was working um I would ask her to do certain things and she would you know just always be too tired. Her will power was not there to do certain things, to make the house, the running of the house hold smooth.”*

Gavin expressed that child-care was a source of conflict in his relationship (Scott Tilley & Brackley, 2005). As the interview progressed, he appeared frustrated that he was caring for his daughter while his partner worked. He also implied that his wife was not a good mother when he referred to her as having no willpower to do ‘certain things.’ He positioned her as the one responsible for running the household despite the fact that she also worked outside the home.

“She has always been working shifts since we met and especially since we have been... we had a child. I’ve looked after the child most of the time alone. Um at night I’d say about 70, 80 percent of the time. Um even when she wasn’t working and she was at home I would still be there.”

In the excerpt above, Gavin identified his wife’s shift-work as a problem. He went further to associate her shift-work with her neglecting to care for their child whether

she was or wasn't working. During the interview he also appeared resentful that his wife was working while he was unemployed.

"It's difficult. It's very difficult because I'm in a different set of shoes as to the other men."

Gavin's statement suggested being employed were important ideals of masculinity or 'being the boss.' In other words, he should have been working while his wife was at home. A failure to attain employment could also be understood as a failure to maintain his sense of masculinity (Dawes, et al., 2004). He also compared himself with 'other men' who did not experience the difficulty of being unemployed.

Both Gavin and Jonathan were unemployed at the time of the interview. Therefore they had been financially dependant on their partners. Along with their experience of unemployment it appeared that some men found themselves in the 'female role' which included home-care and child-care. Most of these men appeared to struggle with this role reversal. This struggle may be explained by Connell (as cited in Vincent, 2006) who referred to traditional masculine beings as inflexible in terms of the male and female roles in the relationship.

Conversely, some participants introduced a sharing role where home and child-care activities were shared.

"If you come home now and if I was married. You come home and... you know something is not lying right on the table and there is dust and that. Just let it go. Clean it yourself. Don't bring it up with yourself. You know rather clean it yourself or keep quiet. That's how I would have dealt with it you know. Or I would have done it myself instead of now seeing yourself as the macho the man in charge and your wife is the slave and she must do it you know. It's a fifty fifty. You see something is not right to keep the peace in the house rather go over and clean it up or communicate."

Tim emphasised the concept of sharing roles rather than adhering to predefined inequalities of male and female roles. In other words, he was redefining the roles of heterosexual masculinity and incorporating less masculine behaviour which appeared

to be acceptable. Similarly, this concept of developing a new masculinity - with a unique set of roles - has also been identified internationally (Contrino, et al., 2007) and in South Africa (Vincent, 2006). This process of internal challenging was encouraging and has been associated with success in decreasing intimate partner violence (Contrino, et al., 2007; Gondolf, 2000; Scott & Wolfe, 2000).

4.3.2.2 The male breadwinner

The concept of the financial provider emerged within participants' understandings of masculinity. Chris used the term "*male role model*" when he described his partner's role in the relationship.

"She sort of, I suppose you could say took over the male role model. Because she was sort of doing more financial support than me. And then I'd get back on my feet and I'd sort her out."

Chris identified his partner as the 'male role' as she was the financial provider. Simply put, the excerpt suggested that men are the primary financial providers (Hammond & Mattis, 2005). Notably, in an effort to reclaim his masculinity, Chris also attempted to redeem his position as 'the male' in the relationship by repaying his partner what he had been previously unable to pay. Despite the opportunity to reclaim his masculinity, he still appeared uncomfortable with his partner as the financial provider. Later during the interview, he mentioned that her role as the financial provider made him feel bad. His statement suggested possible feelings of low self-worth when his partner was earning and contributing more to their financial situation.

In a similar way, Pieter highlighted how it made him feel to ask his wife for financial assistance:

Interviewer: *"How did it feel when you had to ask her for money or say you lost your card?"*

Pieter: *"It felt so bad, knowing all along that I couldn't do this. I couldn't tell her about it you know. And she said to me [afterwards] why didn't I tell her and we could have just stayed home... And um she*

was telling me how I'm not providing and I said okay this and that and whatever..."

In the above excerpt, Pieter had been deceitful about the debt he had incurred. As a result, he had to ask his wife for financial assistance. During the interview, Pieter appeared to feel guilty (Reitz, 1999), as he became subdued and quiet when he mentioned his debt problem or repaying his wife. Furthermore, he perceived his partner to taunt him about not being able to provide financially. It is clear that in Pieter's construction of masculinity, men should be the main financial providers and that men do not ask for financial assistance.

Alan presented a different understanding of the male breadwinner. He appeared to associate salary earnings with sole decision-making authority. In other words, the partner that earned the most, made all the decisions. The following excerpt illustrated this point.

"Well... in terms of. Ok financial matters, my wife is in charge. I leave that all to her to do.... But now I think since then things is starting to turn a bit. I wouldn't say we are equal salaries but she is allowing me that equal say now which is fine."

Alan's wife earned more and appeared to control their finances. Seemingly, he associated higher earning with control over finances. Therefore, his wife was entitled to control. Conversely, earning less was interpreted as having less control and signified a power struggle, which potentially transpired into violent behaviour.

This sub-theme summarised participants' understanding of financial responsibility in the context of masculinity. This study identified men as the financial providers. Furthermore, men were not permitted to ask their partners for money or talk to their partners about debt. Higher earnings were associated with control. Similarly, the findings in this study have also been identified elsewhere (Hammond & Mattis, 2005) where men associated beliefs of masculinity with financial responsibility. Ultimately, codes of masculinity and financial provision were intimately connected.

4.3.2.3 Women are the weaker gender

Most participants expressed beliefs and statements which appeared consistent with patriarchal definitions of ‘strong men’ and ‘weak women’ (Ptacek, 1988).

“The courts or whatever always take the side of the women because they are softer or weaker or whatever.”

In the excerpt above, Chris labelled women as soft or weak. His argument that women are weak also appeared in Reitz’s study (1999). In a similar way, Justin also shared the belief of ‘women as the weaker gender.’

“I can’t speak to her if I hurt her. Because she is a woman.”

Justin’s statement was made in the context of an argument. He said that he could not talk to his partner following an argument as he had hurt her. What this suggested was that his partner was not ‘tough enough to take it’ - and that men were. Seemingly both Chris and Justin appeared to support the belief that women are weak. Similarly, Gavin also made the following statement about women.

“I’m just saying men normally stick to the facts and that’s why they say men think more logical and women think more emotional.”

In the excerpt above, Gavin mentioned that women were more emotional. In the context of traditional masculinity, men are not considered as overly emotional or weak beings (Ptacek, 1988). Therefore, Gavin’s understanding of women being emotional appeared consistent with traditional gender approaches. Conversely, his understanding of men as ‘logical’ suggested that men did not show emotion.

The excerpts above revealed that participants understood women to be weak, illogical and emotional. Conversely, this suggested that men were strong, logical and unemotional – all characteristics of the ‘real man’ (Gregg, 2005). Therefore, participants appeared to adhere to traditional codes of masculinity which embraced patriarchal beliefs, values and behaviours (Russell, 1995).

4.3.2.4 Control over women

Some participants expressed a sense of control over their partners. In some instances control appeared to be combined with the need to be the powerful one in the relationship. The following two excerpts illustrate this point.

“So although on the other side I knew I was wrong. But there I was the man. I was the man in the home so I thought I can overrun my wife. The result it didn’t help me. When she started to complain something I wouldn’t listen to that thing. I would just... she must back off... you see.”

Andrew mentioned his right to ‘overrun’ his wife. Arguably, to overrun someone could also be interpreted as entitlement to control. His belief of being a man included control over his wife. Ultimately, masculinity was linked to ownership and control over his wife when he referred to his behaviour as a result of ‘being the man’ (Russell, 1995; Scott Tilley & Brackley, 2004; Wood, 2001; Wood, 2004). In a different way, control was highlighted in Dale’s experience as being the priority in the relationship.

“There was just no question about it. She thought I was joking. I said I come first and when you and I are in the same room I come first. Don’t ever put me second in front of him [ex husband]. And I also meant that... For me, it’s me first and you see now that’s an insult to me. I’m not sure how other guys feel about it but I have... that’s what I feel. And I don’t feel there is anything wrong with it.”

Dale positioned himself as the priority in the relationship. Throughout the interview, he referred to ‘being first’ and perceived any behaviour which opposed this as an *“insult.”* Dale also attempted to normalise his controlling behaviour as he stated he did not see *“anything wrong with it.”* His experience suggested that controlling behaviour was considered normal in the context of heterosexual masculinity.

Participants appeared to have a strong sense of entitlement to own or control their partners. Russell (1995) argued that the belief in entitlement allowed abusive men to justify their behaviour. In other words, if men did not receive their ‘entitled respect’ (or priority in Dale’s story) they would be permitted to use abusive behaviour.

Furthermore, Russell (1995) also pointed out that the belief of male superiority was a characteristic of abusive men. In summary, through their statements, the majority of men in this study appeared to support - control as a symbol of male superiority; the need to be powerful; entitlement to control women; and violence as a way of responding to women's attempts to challenge their control.

4.3.2.5 Entitlement to respect

Participants highlighted entitlement to respect from their partners and other members of the family or community (Paré, et al., 2006; Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004). Notably, participants expressed different understandings of respect. For example, one participant's statement reflected respect as a traditional gender role.

"But I'm saying I am sick of her nonsense. She doesn't respect me. She never respected her father. She still to this day doesn't respect her father. And that's why I started the relationship, not knowing that fact, on the back foot. I didn't know that she will never respect me because she never respected her father."

In the excerpt above, Gavin's tone of voice suggested he was agitated. He appeared to associate the issue of respect with his wife's personal history. His statement implied that his wife should have respected her father and then she would have respected him. In other words, there was an ultimate expectation for women to respect their fathers and their husbands (males in the family). Messner (1992) also highlights the expectation of entitlement to respect as symbolising masculine ideals.

Entitlement to respect was also identified within the family and members of the community. Rob's statement highlighted respect as an expectation from family members.

"Yeah I get upset because she is a child and she needs to respect me as a father. And that also causes the abuses."

In the excerpt, Rob implied that respect from children was obligatory. Disturbingly, he also mentioned how the apparent lack of respect from a child lead to

abusive behaviour. Despite the obvious risk of child abuse, his statement reflected his understanding that he was entitled to respect from children and, or family members. The idea that men are deserving of respect from both women and children is a patriarchal one, which places men in a position of domination, and adult women as the equivalent of children who are minors and seen as subordinate (Russell, 1995).

Participants' perception of entitlement to respect appeared consistently in the interviews. Interestingly, the construct of respect emerged with different interpretations of partner behaviours that were deemed disrespectful. Some participants' need for respect appeared to revolve around men as superior. Similar findings which suggested that men are entitled to respect have also been found in the literature (Hammond & Mattis, 2005; Wood, 2004). Seemingly, the construct of entitlement appeared to be an issue, which was intimately interlinked with patriarchal beliefs (Johnson, 1995) and codes of masculinity (Vincent, 2006).

4.3.2.6 Entitlement to sex

Some men in the study appeared to associate entitlement to sex with the concept of being a man. Participants highlighted immediate gratification of their sexual needs as important. The following excerpt portrayed the notion of immediate gratification regardless of whether the partner consented.

"You must understand when a man wants to fuck, a man wants to fuck."

Gavin appeared to be frustrated and mentioned that he had not, had sex with his partner for some time. He also used an extreme description of sex, which supports possible feelings of frustration or perhaps even anger. Gavin's statement implied that sex was an activity that is determined and controlled by men (Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004). This suggested his entitlement to sex; and that sex may not require the partner's consent. Similarly, the notion of immediate gratification also emerged in Tim's interview.

Interviewer: *"You mentioned financial, economic and physical abuse?"*

Tim: *"Yes then there was the sexual... um where she uh um you know if she is tired. That's one thing my ex wife never said no to sex with me. No matter what state she maybe was in. You know if she had a headache or whatever. You know it's like a man if he doesn't get he's like a dog he is all miserable and that. He throws his toys out of the cot. That's how I used to be sometimes. Then I would go to bed and she would eventually give in."*

During the interview, Tim appeared proud of the fact that his ex-wife had never refused to have sex with him. Seemingly, his expectation of sex was met regardless of whether she was 'in the mood' or not. Tim mentioned that his wife would 'give in' which implied that he used forms of manipulation to enforce sex. Ultimately, his statement suggested that men are entitled to immediate gratification of their sexual needs and illustrates the expectation that women partners should meet the sexual needs of men whether they want to or not (Scott Tilley & Brackley, 2005).

"There was one occasion where I wanted to have sex and she didn't want to and there was an argument again. I just went to go and lay in the bed and she went to go and lay in the bed. And then we had sex. Afterwards I was obviously calm and I had my way."

Duncan's statement also highlighted his need for sex and immediate gratification. In the excerpt he indicated that his partner did not want to have sex. He states that they ultimately ended up having sexual intercourse, yet he does not mention whether and how he 'persuaded' his partner to do so. His statement that "[he] had [his] way" illustrates his perception of entitlement to sex regardless of his partner's desires.

The excerpts above portrayed men's entitlement to sex. Men in this study experienced changes in their mood when their sexual needs were not met immediately. Furthermore, they used manipulation and emotional abuse to enforce sex. The excerpts also suggested that participants showed limited insight into forms of manipulation which were used to enforce sex. The literature highlighted similar findings of

entitlement to sex and immediate gratification which were defined as traditional masculine beliefs (Levitt, et al., 2008). For example, Wood's (2004) study with incarcerated men found that the majority of participants held the belief that men were entitled to sex. Russell (1995) went further to suggest that beliefs of entitlement allowed men to justify their abusive behaviour when women refused to have sex with them. In a local context, a Cape Town study (Abrahams, et al., 2006) found 15.3% prevalence of sexual abuse (*forced sex or attempts to force*); and 27.9% of men citing partners' refusal to have sex as a cause for conflict. Similarly, the construct of masculinity in this study included ideas about entitlement to sex and immediate gratification.

4.3.2.7 Entitlement to multiple sexual partners

Infidelity was highlighted during the interviews. Participants reported sexual extramarital relationships for themselves and their partners. The following excerpts described men who had extramarital relationships.

"I wasn't honest and there have been a few dishonest occasions where I was involved in an outside relationship..." [Alan]

"Because of my history. Like drugs, the women I was cheating on her." [Rob]

Both participants appeared to have a history of extramarital relationships. Interestingly, the interviews also revealed their histories of alcohol and substance abuse which were situated within the context of their infidelity. This point is portrayed in Rob's statement above. Ultimately, their histories of several extramarital relationships suggested they were normative and acceptable practices for men (Wood & Jewkes, 2001).

In a different way, Justin mentioned having a number of children with more than one partner.

"No I got three children, 11, 8 and 6 months by different girls."

Justin's tone suggested that he was proud of the fact that he had children with different partners. Seemingly, having many women may have been perceived as an accomplishment. What this also suggested was that no contraceptives were used and that there was a high risk of contracting or spreading HIV (Meel, 2006).

Biological factors also appeared to permit men to have relationships outside of their marriage. Andrew explained his experience of having children with other women.

"But doctors say she was not able to have children with the tubes. But that is no problem because I have many children myself outside [of the marriage]."

Andrew's wife was unable to conceive. However, he appeared to be self-satisfied as he had a number of children with other women. Seemingly, his statement alluded that men were entitled to have as many partners as they required. Using his wife's infertility also appeared to justify his sexual relationships outside of his marriage.

Some participants described their experiences of their partner's extramarital relationships.

"Well, in my first marriage. Um ... I caught my wife twice in bed with another man." [Jonathan]

"Um... they were obviously in a sexual relationship where I wanted to know. Were there any condoms used or was protection used. No there wasn't any protection." [Thomas]

Jonathan highlighted his wife's infidelity on two occasions. Similarly, Thomas also indicated that his wife was in a sexual relationship and that no contraceptives were used.

In summary, several participants in this study presented a history of sexual extramarital relationships; a number of sexual partners; and the use of drugs or alcohol that appeared to accompany risky sexual behaviour. Extramarital relationships also appeared in other studies in Umtata (Meel, 2006) and Cape Town (Abrahams, et al.,

2006; Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004; Londt, 2004) that were conducted with perpetrators. Furthermore, additional studies in South Africa (Jewkes, et al., 2002) emphasised the significant association between intimate partner violence and arguments regarding infidelity. Ultimately, findings in this study suggested that men viewed extramarital relationships (many sexual partners) as an achievement and as a normative component of masculinity. Only one participant mentioned contraceptives during the interviews. Potentially, this indicated a high risk of contracting HIV and transmitting the virus to a partner. These findings appeared to be consistent with findings in an Eastern Cape study (Dunkle, et al., 2006) that located high levels of HIV risk behaviour in perpetrators.

4.3.3 Men as victims

The majority of men in this study described themselves as being victimised by women and a biased legal system. Victimisation emerged through men's statements which highlighted the court-protection order as 'a document of lies.'

"But I didn't want her to go through what I have gone through even though she used the interdict against me. I thought fine she can keep on using this against me"

In the excerpt above, Andrew appeared as the victim when he referred to what 'he had gone through.' This implied that his experience had been very difficult. Interestingly, he mentioned he was not going to retaliate 'even though she used the court protection order against him.' This suggested his position as the person in control. In other words, he had the control to take further action against her. He then presented himself as the martyr as he mentioned that she could continue to 'use' the interdict against him. This suggested his understanding that he allowed her to 'continue' as he was in control.

Thomas also positioned himself as the victim through the court protection order which he described as *"a set of lies."*

“There were specific things I have done. But why I said it wasn’t put down on paper honestly. I can give you some examples. Um going through the 12 months trying to figure out. I can’t go to you and ask you what happened. The person that was involved had to say what the story is. And from the one lie went to the other and the other and the other.”

In the excerpt, Thomas described the content of the court protection order as inaccurate. He understands his situation as being persecuted by lies.

In a similar way, Gavin describes men as victims of manipulative women who are ‘gold-diggers’, but who also claim ‘victim-status’ when they deem it appropriate.

“It makes me sick why they stay. Women stay in the relationship to milk the man of everything yet they say their lives are in danger when they are at the police station.”

In the excerpt, Gavin accused his wife of remaining in the relationship in order to benefit from what he could offer. Ironically, Gavin was unemployed and his wife was the financial provider. Despite this, his statement implied that women got everything. Therefore this suggested that if women get everything, then men get nothing. Seemingly, this portrayed him as the victim in the situation.

Men in this study appeared to construct themselves as victims based on their experiences. They claimed that women lie in their applications for protection orders in order to garner sympathy from the system. Some studies have found that being a victim justifies violent behaviour and allows men the opportunity to regain control of an out-of-control situation (Reitz, 1999; Rosenbaum & Leisring, 2003; Wood, 2004; Yllö & Bograd, 1988).

Following men’s understanding of themselves as victims, their perceptions of the court protection order and the legal system were intricately examined. Seemingly, these appeared to be important areas of interest in their experience of domestic violence. The following two sub-themes emerged when men were explicitly asked about the court protection order and the legal system. The first theme explores their

understanding of the court protection order as a 'control tool' for women. The second sub-theme explores their understanding of a biased legal system.

4.3.3.1 The court protection order: Her tool to control

Men described their experience of the protection order as a tool of control which is used by women. The following excerpt described one participant's experience.

"So she used the interdict. And so I said to her you wanted me to come there. You wanted them to put me away because I have a new relationship with a new partner and knowing that you was pregnant. I mean the argument when I came in was nothing and it turned out into a heavy hectic war. So I think she knew what she was doing [by playing him into a trap]. She wanted to put me away. If I was going to sleep in a police cell and I was in Polsmoor for a week and a half."

In the excerpt, Justin stated that his partner used the court protection order to get him arrested; and as an act of revenge. Similarly, he accused her of being manipulative as he referred to her causing the argument which caused him to be arrested. Later during the interview he mentioned her using the 'control tool' again.

"I realised what I have done now. She threatened that she is going to use the interdict against me. I asked her please don't do that because she is building something within me and when I speak to her about it."

Interestingly, in this excerpt he acknowledged his abusive behaviour by using the term *"I realised what I have done."* In his statement, he threatened her by pleading with her not to call the police - as he may become violent. Seemingly this put her in the position of control and he appeared to be using more subtle forms of abuse to regain control of the situation.

Other participants also perceived the interdict as their partner's tool for control. Rob referred to his partner's awareness of controlling the situation.

“She wants me to come to a point where I must use the physical abuse or swear at her, do the verbal abuse, because she knows she has got the interdict and now she just phones up the cops and then they come pick me up.”

In the excerpt, Rob blamed the court protection order for his violent behaviour. He also mentioned her use of the ‘interdict’ (court protection order) to get him to use verbal and physical abuse. Seemingly, his statement alluded that she was in control as she ‘caused’ him to react. Therefore he appeared to blame her and denied responsibility for his behaviour (Hearn, 1998; Ptacek, 1988; Scott & Lyman, 1968; Wood, 2004). Ultimately his experience reflected how his partner used her control to get him removed and it refers to the experience of being constantly threatened by arrest or having the protection order ‘hanging over your head.’

In summary, men in this study perceived the court protection order as women’s tool to control them by getting revenge; threatening them; or ‘sending’ them to prison.

4.3.3.2 The biased magistrate

Two dominant perspectives emerged when participants expressed their understanding of the legal procedure which presides over divorces and court protection orders (interdicts) in South Africa.

The first identified the perception that the court and the legal system were biased structures which supported women.

“And she knew she had the governments backing that no matter what happens she will get custody of that child.”

The statement above reflected Gavin’s understanding of the legal system as a bias organisation which supported women regardless of the circumstances. Therefore, men were automatically perceived to be the ‘losers.’ In a similar way, Tim’s statement reflected his understanding that the court consisted of bias female magistrates.

“It wasn’t finalised or whatever and when I went to the court there was a lady magistrate so obviously then I thought no this isn’t going to be easy.”

In the excerpt, Tim appeared concerned that a female magistrate had presided over his case. His statement suggested that the female magistrate would take his ex-wife’s side when he referred to her (female magistrate) involvement as ‘not being easy.’ Seemingly, both Gavin and Tim perceived the legal process to be bias. They also identified themselves as victims and the government as unsympathetic in supporting men during the legal process.

The second perspective highlighted the understanding that women would automatically gain following the court’s decision during a divorce settlement.

“She got everything from the divorce.”

Andrew mentioned his wife’s ‘triumph’ following their divorce. His statement created the image that he had lost everything and that the system supported women exclusively. Therefore, he appeared as the victim. Similarly, Thomas also perceived women as the primary beneficiaries of the legal system.

“Well listening to her divorced friends that she must get everything out of it and even though she messed up bad she is not going to just give in.”

In the excerpt, Thomas referred to the historical context of the legal system where women were favoured. He did this by referring to her ‘divorced friends’ who seemingly gained from their divorces. Ultimately, his statement reflected the perception that the court favoured women over men.

In summary, participants’ understanding of the court protection order showed that it was a tool for women to gain financially out of a perceived bias legal process which can be used against men at any time. Ultimately, men constructed themselves as victims and women as ‘relationship controllers’ or manipulators of the legal system.

4.3.4 Section summary: Male perpetrators - Identities in crisis

This section explored perpetrators identities which were discussed in the context of changing identities; masculinity; and a bias legal system.

Men in this study described their identities as a 'metamorphosis' (Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004). In other words, they constructed different identities as either positive or negative; and pre- or post-abuser. The majority of men avoided describing themselves as negative (Bograd, 1988; Buchbinder & Eisikovits, 2008; Ptacek, 1988). Positive behaviours were also noticed to accompany any descriptions of their negative behaviour. Possibly, this strategy allowed participants to dissociate from their negative self images (Cavanagh, et al., 2001) and as a coping mechanism to avoid guilt. Further exploration of issues such as low self-esteem in perpetrators is required to clarify how their self-descriptions could contribute to understanding and treating violent behaviour.

Participants' constructed their 'new identities' in the context of response changes; protocols to prevent violent behaviour; and personal growth. They identified taking responsibility; self-talk; and thinking about their behaviour as 'response changes.' Using support networks and feeling remorse appeared to be drivers for protocols to prevent violent behaviour. They appeared to show that they had changed as 'violent men' and reframed their identities as 'good' (Bograd, 1988; Ptacek, 1988; Reitz, 1999). Potentially, exposure to a rehabilitation programme allowed participants to identify, review and challenge their identities as perpetrators.

Constructions of masculinity emerged through a number of sub-themes. In general, men in this study appeared to ascribe to patriarchal beliefs which support men as superior (Gregg, 2005; Russell, 1995). Men were viewed as 'dominant bosses' while women were understood in the context of their traditional gender roles (Gregg, 2005; Griffith, et al., 2006; Pan, et al., 2006). For example, women were expected to prepare meals; manage the home; take care of the children; and 'act as subordinates.' Financial responsibility was also rated highly and was perceived as an essential component of being a man. Similarly, men were also expected to be employed and were not

permitted to discuss debt or negative financial problems with their partners. The majority of participants understood women as weak; not tough enough; and emotional. Their understanding of women being weak was supported by the legal system which they indicated 'was in place for women.' This study also revealed men to be entitled to respect and sex from their partners. Any deviations from this resulted in abusive behaviour in order to restore control (Dawes, et al., 2004). Infidelity was perceived as normative and an achievement by some men in this study. Some men viewed extramarital relationships as acceptable if their partners were unable to conceive. Seemingly, several participants had sexual extramarital relationships and did not use contraception. Therefore, this indicates a high risk of contracting HIV and, or *sexually transmitted infections (STI's)* for both partners (Dunkle, et al., 2006; Johnson & Hellerstedt, 2002; Martin, et al., 1999).

The majority of men appeared to perceive themselves as victims (Scully, 1990). They claimed their 'victim status' through their statements which referred to 'going through a lot' and the court protection order as a 'set of lies.' In other words, the allegations against them were untrue and ignored their subjective realities. They constructed their understanding of the court protection order on the basis of them as 'victims' and as 'women's control tool.' They claimed that women were aware of manipulating them and used the court protection order to gain revenge and get them arrested. Not one participant reflected a positive and functional understanding of the protection order as a procedure which is in place to protect their partners; and prevent them from using abusive behaviour. In a similar way, they constructed their understanding of the legal system through their experiences with magistrates. Notably, they appeared to become agitated when referring to discussions around court protection orders and the legal system. They referred to bias magistrates and positioned themselves as powerless (Scully, 1990). Conclusively, this section identified perpetrator identities that change; that encapsulate patriarchal ideals; and that take the role of the 'victim.'

4.4 Constructions of the intimate relationship

Relationships contribute to the construction of individuals' identity (Erikson, 1968; Fearon, 1999; Ryff, 1989). Therefore, the intimate relationship formed part of men's identities and their understanding of domestic violence. The majority of men in this study constructed their understanding of the intimate relationship in the context of two themes. The first theme discussed the intimate relationship in the context of the treatment programme. The second theme explored the intimate relationship through constructions of the female partner. Both themes provided an integrated overview of how the men in this study understood their relationship with their partners.

4.4.1 Treatment and the intimate relationship

During the interviews, participants were asked about how they understood their relationships. Their answers highlighted two sub-themes. In other words, they appeared to describe their intimate relationships in two ways. Namely, 'prior' and 'after' attending a rehabilitation programme.

The first sub-theme explored men's understanding of their relationship prior to treatment. Most participants' descriptions portrayed relationships which were in trouble and under strain.

"I gave my everything in my last relationship... [shakes his head from side to side]."

In the excerpt above, Thomas appeared to view his relationship prior to treatment as 'doomed.' His understanding suggests that he was the one 'building the relationship' and his ex-wife was to blame for the relationship breakdown. In a similar way, Andrew also explained his understanding of the intimate relationship prior to treatment.

"Then I keep on working. And now you see, the relationship with my wife now tends to be separate."

Andrew's statement also suggests that he was 'doing all the work' to keep the relationship going. He also appeared to see this as the reason why his relationship had ended ("*separate*"). During the interview, it became clear that Andrew's relationship prior to treatment appeared to be poor. His other statements also suggested that the relationship breakdown was because of his work requirements.

Tim also described his relationship with his partner before attending a rehabilitation programme.

"I didn't realise how serious the situation was. Because I looked at it that she is the guilty party and she must sort herself out but I didn't know about domestic violence."

Tim's statement suggested that his relationship was under strain and that the situation was severe. He also identified his ex-wife as the cause of his violent behaviour prior to treatment; and avoids responsibility for his behaviour through dissociation ("*I didn't know about domestic violence*").

Ultimately, men in this study perceived their intimate relationships as poor prior to attending a rehabilitation programme. They also reported that they contributed the most to building the relationship in comparison to their partners. Some men felt that they neglected themselves in their intimate relationships. Seemingly, their descriptions positioned them as victims and their partners as 'bad' (Reitz, 1999).

The second sub-theme described men's understanding of their intimate relationships during or following treatment. Most participants appeared hopeful about their relationships during or following participation in a rehabilitation programme. They highlighted improvements in trust; better communication; and the perception of rebuilding their relationships over time.

The first excerpt described one participant's experience of how trust had improved in his relationship with his partner.

"It's stemmed from a long time, but mainly with my wife is the trust. We need to work on the trust. We are actually seeing someone. I also go to the other meeting."

Alan's statement indicated that he was working on trust issues in his relationship with his wife. His statement referred to him attending the 'other meeting' which was a rehabilitation programme for alcoholics. Ultimately, Alan identified improvements in the intimate relationship following exposure to a rehabilitation programme.

Interviewer: *"And how are things now between you and your wife?"*

Pieter: *"Slowly, I would say she is how can I say. I am trying to um... to um... yesterday she was asking me about what is my plan of getting back together. And so I am like trying to work on this things. What I started with is telling her that I wanted to work on our communication. Communication because she can also be like a reflection on how we communicating."*

In the excerpt above, Pieter identified communication as the priority. During the interview, he appeared to attribute his violent behaviour as a result of debt problems which he could not discuss with his wife. Therefore, in the context of debt problems, his commitment to improved communication appeared to be positive. In a similar way, Dale also appeared to be communicating rather than using violence or force.

"But now with this long distance build up before. Our relationship all the talking we doing is good. She says it's the best thing we could have done."

In the excerpt, Dale presented a different understanding of communication. He perceived his long distance relationship with his new partner as positive, because it allowed him to get to know her before rushing into a relationship.

The concept of rebuilding a relationship over time emerged in some interviews. This was illustrated in the following excerpt.

"We are working on it. It's going to take time"

In the excerpt, Chris highlighted his understanding that working on the relationship was an ongoing process, which would take time. This also implied that he understood the magnitude of the problem. Therefore, he mentioned the 'time factor' in the context of rebuilding the relationship. In a different way, Duncan's positive statement highlighted making time for each other.

"And when we have like once or twice a week we have a session where we just lay on the bed and watch TV and speak to each other in like the room."

The majority of men appeared to identify improved trust; better communication; and an overall commitment to rebuilding their relationships. In other words, treatment was perceived to have assisted with improved relationships with their partners; or their understanding thereof. However, not all participants were able to report positive descriptions of their intimate relationships. Some participants were separated, or in the process of separating, and described their divorce as the worst and most painful experience for them. Therefore, the next theme explores how men constructed their partners in the context of their intimate relationship.

4.4.2 Constructions of the female partner

The previous theme identified men's understanding of their intimate relationships. However, in their responses, descriptions of their partners also emerged. Therefore, this theme highlighted participants' descriptions of their partners as good or bad - or both. Responses were drawn out by asking participants to describe their partners. Some participants answered without prompting and others required probing in order to elicit a response. In other words, responses varied from vague to explicitly descriptive. Evidently, a pattern of responding to this particular question emerged. Participants appeared to describe their partners with few short, positive descriptions, which were followed by a lengthy number of negative descriptions.

Despite the difference in responses, it was noted that participant's descriptions of their partners were mostly negative. This finding appeared to be inconsistent with another study, which highlighted improved attitudes in men following workshops on

domestic violence in the Western Cape (Peacock & Levack, 2004). Therefore, the two sub-themes, which follow, describe the intimate relationship in relation to the ‘lovely wife’ and the ‘bad wife.’

4.4.2.1 *The lovely wife*

During the interviews, participants seemed to use similar terms when they described their partners in a positive way. For example, Table 4.1 illustrated the exact words used and the number of participants who used these terms when they described their partners:

Table 4.1: Perpetrators’ positive descriptions of their partners

COLUMN A	COLUMN B
DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS
<i>Loving</i>	4
<i>Assertive</i>	4
<i>Helps anybody</i>	3
<i>Honest</i>	2
<i>Caring</i>	2
<i>She is a strong person</i>	2
<i>Helps financially</i>	2

A possible reason for similar terms being used could be as a result of exposure to a rehabilitation programme where terms and behaviours were formalised by facilitators during sessions. Table 4.1 indicated that one third of the men in this study described their partners as “*loving*” and “*assertive*.” A further quarter of the men in this study described their partner’s inclination to “*help anybody*” as a positive attribute. Notably, participants appeared to describe their partner’s positive attributes prior to focusing on a string of negative attributes.

Interviewer: *"Tell me about your partner?"*

Thomas: *"Good mother, um... would always be there for the kids no matter what. Good wife as in try to be. You see it's a difficult question to answer. And I will tell you why. If I look at this whole relationship and marriage that I was in. It was a marriage of pretence, not on my side but on hers."*

In the excerpt above, Thomas began his answer in a positive light when he referred to his ex-wife as a *"good mother."* He also ascribed a good wife as being 'there for the children.' This suggested his beliefs in patriarchal structures where women are the primary child-care-givers and men are periphery role players (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Towards the end of his statement, he described the marriage as a *"fraud"* which is an indication of how he perceived his relationship with his wife.

Other participants also described their partners in a positive light. Jonathan described his partner as a *"lady."*

"She is more lady like and whatever. You can see. No this is not just a one night stand."

In the excerpt, Jonathan appeared to elevate his partner to a 'lady status.' Potentially, his use of the word *"lady"* conferred on his partner a 'respectable' status. He also implied that being a lady meant not being a *"one night stand,"* making a clear distinction between women who are considered to be 'respectable' and those who are not. Jonathan's statement also highlighted the pattern of positive to negative partner descriptions.

Most of the men in this study described their partners in a positive way. Seemingly, positive descriptions were also made in the context of adhering to predefined female gender roles. Interestingly, a pattern was identified where positive descriptions were very closely followed by negative descriptions. The next theme explores these negative descriptions in detail.

4.4.2.2 *The bad wife*

This theme identified participants' negative descriptions of their partners. Therefore, responses reflecting negative statements were analysed and charted. This theme was divided into two sub-themes. The first sub-theme described partners as 'bad people' while the second sub-theme described partners' negative behaviours. Ultimately, 'bad people' and 'negative partner behaviours' highlighted poor perceptions of the intimate relationship.

A number of similar terms were used to describe partners 'bad.' These terms are illustrated in the table below (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Negative partner descriptions

COLUMN A	COLUMN B
DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS USING THE TERM
<i>Manipulative</i>	4
<i>Psychologically ill</i>	3
<i>Didn't open up emotionally</i>	2
<i>Angry</i>	2
<i>Passive aggressive</i>	2
<i>Domineering</i>	2
<i>Needs constant approval</i>	2

In Table 4.2, one third of the men in this study described their partners as manipulative while one quarter described them as psychologically ill.

In the next excerpt, the 'bad wife' appeared to be associated with her personal history.

“She was at the age of 10 years old and her father killed her mother. Her father leaving and a prison sentence. He came out with AIDS and she still look after the same father that killed her mother. She went for counselling. She was in Valkenberg [Psychiatric Hospital]. She is experienced a lot of trauma in her life and growing up from 10 years old until now. She is 31, without her mother. I know it’s hard and I know why she experience mood swings because if you going in an argument and then she combines that (her experience) and she cries.”

Duncan explained his partner’s history as traumatic and extreme. In his statement, he also identified her behaviour as a result of her personal history and a psychiatric admission. Seemingly, he perceived her as emotionally unstable. His association with her problems could also be interpreted as blame, where he justified his abusive behaviour in response to her alleged mood changes (Hearn, 1998; Wood, 2004). Ultimately, Duncan’s statement identified him as her rescuer as he had been there to support her. Conversely, he constructed her as the ‘troubled wife.’ Seemingly, his ‘rescue’ included abusive behaviour which was his response to her perceived emotional instability.

In a similar way, when some participants were asked about their understanding of their partner’s personal problems, they made reference to them not opening up emotionally. For example: *“She seldom opens up.”* Justin’s statement appeared in the context of what frustrated him. Seemingly, her reluctance to open up appeared to create feelings of inadequacy (also found in Londt, 2004) and powerlessness (Ptacek, 1988; Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2001; Wood, 2004; Yllö & Bograd, 1988). This point was also illustrated in another statement which Gavin made.

“Why couldn’t she tell me what was inside?”

Gavin appeared distressed through his tone of voice, which hinted that he was desperate to find out what was bothering his partner. Justin and Gavin both construct their partner as being unable to communicate successfully. As a result they are positioned as being unable to access important information and therefore possibly be powerless. More specifically, their partners had control as they withheld information about what was bothering them. Therefore their attempts to probe their partners may

also be interpreted as attempts to regain control over the situation, and in an instrumental way, ‘fix’ what is wrong (Cavanagh, et al., 2001; Pence & Paymar, 1993; Rosenbaum & Leisring, 2003).

Notably, many participants appeared genuinely concerned about their partners’ negative behaviours. In summary, men identified their partners as manipulators; laden with issues; mentally ill; and too introverted – all negative descriptions. Seemingly, these descriptions also revealed men as victims; justified their violent behaviour; and their attempts to regain control (Presser, 2003; Reitz, 1999).

Partner’s negative behaviours emerged consistently in several interviews. Potentially, this highlighted the understanding that their partners were the ‘abusers’ or were somehow responsible for the abuse. Partners behaved badly by swearing, being overly critical and not appropriately acknowledging men’s positive behavioural changes.

Rob described his partner’s behaviour in the following excerpt.

Rob: *“She is very aggressive now, at the moment, her behaviour is totally different.”*

Interviewer: *“Different to?”*

Rob: *“She swears a lot. Everything is a problem in the house for her.”*

In the excerpt, Rob highlighted his wife’s aggressive behaviour and use of swearing. Undeniably, he created an image of his abusive and unreasonable wife when he referred to her *“swearing”* and *“everything being a problem.”* Similarly, Gavin also highlighted his partner’s aggressive behaviour.

“She would throw pots at me. You know my food that I would spend hours cooking. She would break things. Um she would swear at me. She would call me names. She would um... She would tell me that I don’t know how to fuck. You know things like that. Things that really hurt a man. You know.”

Gavin described his wife's behaviour as swearing and aggressive when he referred to her breaking things. He then described her criticisms which he found upsetting. Seemingly, his statement also alluded that men should be good sexual partners. This suggested his adherence with patriarchal beliefs which viewed men as 'stronger and faster' (also identified in Walker, et al., 2000). Ultimately, his statement highlighted his partner's behaviour as critical and insensitive. Other men in this study also identified their partners' behaviour as insensitive.

"She sees a different way of thinking man. She'll always degrade me in all my avenues. Degrade my family, degrade me, um... yeah."

Rob's statement highlighted his perception of his partner as being overly critical. In addition to her hyper-critical behaviour above, below Rob also illustrates how his partner fails to appropriately acknowledge changes in his behaviour.

"I would say mine [abusive behaviour] is decreasing yeah because you know why, because like I can think for myself now I'm changing. Because I ask her one evening, I ask her can you see there is a change in me. She don't want to give me an answer because I want to know man and she is the only one that can tell me if there is change in myself. And she just said um... gave me a negative answer."

In the excerpt, Rob identified a decrease in his abusive behaviour. His wife appeared to be unsupportive as she had not noticed his behavioural change. Seemingly, his wife was the only person who could validate his change in behaviour. Therefore, it appeared as if she was in control and he wasn't. Possibly, his attempts to get her to validate his behaviour may also be interpreted as attempts to control her responses (Rosenbaum & Leisring, 2003; Wood, 2004). Interestingly, the need for validation of behavioural change was also accompanied by requests for partners to acknowledge their behaviour as contributory to domestic violence (Hearn, 1998; Wood, 2004).

“Well we both felt it building up. She could see it building up in me. Every time we would have an argument because all I wanted her to do was just acknowledge that she was wrong. And she would never do that. Um knowing that she was wrong and I am saying that because I know when I am right and wrong.”

In the excerpt, Gavin referred to “*we felt it building up.*” This implied that both were responsible for what happened after the build up as either one could have prevented it. He then continued to relate the argument to his need for validation. Ultimately, he wanted his partner to agree that she had contributed to his violent behaviour. Therefore, his statement highlighted her ‘negative behaviour’ (disagreeing with him) as an attempt to justify his abuse.

In summary, this theme identified men’s understanding of their partner’s as ‘bad.’ Intimate partners were described as manipulators; laden with issues; mentally ill; and too introverted. Their behaviours were perceived as aggressive and unreasonable. They were also too critical, insincere and ‘failed’ to acknowledge men’s positive behavioural changes. Ultimately, descriptions of partners’ negative behaviours created the partner as ‘bad.’ Thus, creating men as ‘good’ and constructing a platform for them to regain control over their partners (Presser, 2003); and justify their violent behaviour (Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004). Recommendations regarding these findings are discussed in the concluding chapter.

4.4.3 Section summary: Constructions of the intimate partner relationship

This section explored participants’ constructions of the intimate relationship. Seemingly the intimate relationship was understood in the context of treatment; and descriptions of the intimate partner.

Men in this study identified a transition from poor to better when they referred to the relationship prior and following a rehabilitation programme. In other words, intimate partner relationships improved through working on trust; better communication; and an overall commitment to rebuilding their relationships.

Participants used positive terms to describe their partners. However, these positive descriptions were promptly followed by negative descriptions. Possibly, men used positive descriptions in an attempt to appear empathetic towards their partners. In that way, they would have also created the 'happy family image' where their violent behaviour had decreased and 'she was great' (Cavanagh, et al., 2001). Similarly, this image could also be interpreted as an attempt to deny their abusive behaviour (Eisikovits & Buchbinder, 1997; Londt, 2004; Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004). Positive partner descriptions also appeared to be clouded in patriarchal contexts (Russell, 1995). For example, women were good wives if they were able to care for their children; and they were also considered as easy sexual targets (Gregg, 2005; Griffith, et al., 2006; Pan, et al., 2006; Shefer, et al., 2008; Vincent, 2006).

On the other hand, negative partner descriptions created an image of women as aggressive; mentally ill; and insensitive to acknowledging men's positive behavioural change. Their behaviours were understood to be insincere; hyper-critical; and unreasonable. Conclusively, this section highlighted men's understanding that the intimate relationship was understood in terms of exposure to treatment and partner descriptions.

4.5 Chapter summary

This chapter captured men's perspectives of domestic violence in four sections. These sections highlighted perpetrators definitions of abuse; the context of violence; identity as a perpetrator; and constructions of the intimate relationship. Each section contained a detailed summary outlining the findings.

The findings in this study bring perpetrators experiences and understanding of domestic violence to the forefront; and may be useful for treating domestic violence offenders in the Western Cape. Interestingly, a number of common themes emerged within the four sections. These themes and final recommendations, regarding the use of men's understanding of domestic violence, are included in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The main objective of this study was to explore the meaning and understanding of male perpetrators' experience of domestic violence in the Western Cape. This study explored how male perpetrators in the Western Cape perceived domestic violence. Men in this study presented a dual understanding of domestic violence. In other words, they understood domestic violence as 'wrong' in some instances and 'right' in others (Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004). This finding is interesting as all the men in this study were exposed to a perpetrator rehabilitation programme. Therefore, the findings in this study may prove useful for treating domestic violence perpetrators in the Western Cape.

A number of findings in this study have also been identified in the literature. In summary, participants in this study appeared to have a fair understanding of the different forms of abuse. They also identified several forms of abuse in their own relationships. Seemingly, they described violence in their, home, work and community environments. Furthermore, they experienced unpleasant childhoods where they were abused by their fathers or exposed to their fathers abusing their mothers. Notably, the literature also highlighted men who experienced unhappy childhoods (like the men in this study) as extremely likely to use abuse in their intimate relationships (Carlson, 2000; Evans, et al., 2008). Men in this study appeared to be products of patriarchy and presented beliefs and behaviours which second rate women (Russell, 1995). Interestingly, they indicated that their relationships had improved, but that their partners were still 'bad people.'

A number of common themes emerged in men's perceptions of domestic violence. Control was identified as the first theme. Seemingly, issues of control were evident in all the sections, which appears consistent with the literature too (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Gondolf & Russell, 1986; Reitz, 1999; Rosenbaum & Leisring, 2003; Wood, 2004). When men appeared to be out-of-control they responded by using violence and other forms of subtle abuse to regain control over their partners, relationships or environments. Regaining control also entailed using substances (Abrahams, et al.,

2006; Heise & Garcia-Moreno, 2002; McDonald, 1994); adhering to patriarchal behaviours (Fals-Stewart, et al., 2005; Gregg, 2005; Russell, 1995; Wallace & Nosko, 2003); or 'changing identities.' In some instances, men even attempted to control their partners in the midst of court protection orders which prevented them from contacting their partners. Seemingly, this highlighted the extreme nature of their 'drive for ultimate control.'

A second theme, which appeared consistently, related to men's responses to their violence. Justification, dissociation, denial and remorse were all identified in this study. These responses were expected as they have also been identified in the literature (Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004; Cavanagh, et al., 2001; Goodrum, et al., 2001; Hearn, 1998; Londt, 2004; Presser, 2003; Reitz, 1999; Wood, 2004). In many instances men appeared to justify their abusive behaviour as a result of their partner's behaviour or other factors which 'caused' them to use violence. Similarly, they denied being 'violent people' or the use of certain types of abuse. Denial was candidly followed by dissociation as they constantly made attempts to move away from their 'abuser image'; or remorse where they acknowledged and regretted their violent behaviour (Cavanagh, et al., 2001; Pence & Paymar, 1993; Scully & Marolla, 1984). However, the question which remained was why do these responses continue to present themselves? Potentially the answer sits in society's tolerance of patriarchal beliefs and behaviours, which was the third consistent theme in this study.

Patriarchal attitudes and behaviours emerged in men's understanding of financial responsibilities; their religions; masculinity; the legal system; and constructions of their partners (Russell, 1995). Adherence to traditional masculinity required men to be employed and not to discuss financial problems with their partners. Religious affiliations appeared as platforms to control women (Douki, et al., 2003). Masculinity was defined in the context of entitlement to control, respect and sex. Similarly, men's infidelity appeared to be minimised, while women were branded with the 'scarlet letter.' Participants also viewed the legal system as biased structures which supported women. And finally, most men identified their partners as 'good' when they behaved according to patriarchal gender roles. Interestingly, this study identified a minor transition in the way men treated women. More specifically, some men appeared to be shifting towards a new masculinity (also described in Vincent, 2006) where they

shared roles with their partners. Seemingly, they also appeared to be highly conflicted about this ‘new masculinity.’ However, despite this small change, the majority of men reflected strong patriarchal attitudes - which placed them as superior.

The fourth theme addressed men’s image or constructions of their identities. Men in this study described themselves; their partners; their environments; and the legal system as catastrophic. Seemingly, their attempts were interpreted as seeking empathy; identifying as the victim; identifying their partners as the abusers; and using their environments to justify their violent behaviour (Reitz, 1999; Scully, 1990; Wood, 2004). Ultimately, they consistently worked at ‘smartening their image’ in an attempt to dissociate from their ‘abuser status’ - and to appear as innocent (Goodrum, et al., 2001).

Ultimately, these findings highlight ‘local knowledge’ and potential focus areas, which could be emphasised or implemented differently within treatment interventions that take place in the Western Cape.

5.1 Treatment implications

While many findings appeared consistent with the literature, other findings appeared to require further exploration. A number of recommendations have been made based on themes which emerged in this study. The following table (Table 5.1) highlights themes (Column A) and potential focus areas (Column B) when working with male perpetrators of domestic violence in the Western Cape.

Table 5.1: Male perpetrators understanding of domestic violence

COLUMN A	COLUMN B	COLUMN C
FINDING	FOCUS AREA	RECOMMENDATION
Limited insight into emotional abuse	Abuse types	Define and identify emotional abuse in the relationship
Limited insight into sexual abuse		Define and identify sexual abuse in the relationship
Anger is uncontrollable	Response restructuring	Role plays; methods of disengaging; negotiation skills; communication skills; and safety plans
Poor support networks	Support networks	Identify existing support networks
Unhealthy support networks		Identify, challenge and reorganise unhealthy coping mechanisms
		Eliminate problematic support networks and promote Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) & Faith Based Organisations (FBO)
The need for partner groups	Need for validation	Partner support groups that educate women about healthy relationships
		Focus on individual behaviour change
Role reversal conflict; Patriarchal beliefs and values	Masculinity	Focus on establishing a ‘new masculinity’
		Identify, challenge and reorganise controlling behaviour
HIV risky behaviour when intoxicated	Alcohol and substance abuse	Identify risks of alcohol and substance abuse
High prevalence of alcohol or substance abuse		Referral for substance abuse rehabilitation (external)

COLUMN A	COLUMN B	COLUMN C
FINDING	FOCUS AREA	RECOMMENDATION
High number of children exposed to domestic violence	Children	Focus on parenting skills; impact on children; cycle of violence; support for children
Interdict and legal system are bias and non-supportive of men	Interdict and legal procedure	Emphasise rehabilitation aspect of the legal procedure Legal framework to specify treatment options for men; and make provision for accessible treatment facilities
Treatment facilities are not located in the community and difficult to access	Rehabilitation	Increase the number of treatment programmes Accessible (cost and location) treatment programmes
More time required per individual		Individual session prior to group therapy environment

Column A (Table 5.1) highlights the themes which emerged in this study. Consequently, Column B (Table 5.1) categorises these themes through identifying potential focus areas for work with perpetrators of domestic violence. These focus areas provide recommendations (Column C) which focus on: abuse types that were difficult to identify; slowing down the experience of anger; establishing healthy support networks; addressing the need for validation from partners; establishing a healthy masculinity; treating alcohol or substance abuse separately; a focus on children and the effects of their exposure to domestic violence; a focus on the rehabilitation aspect of the legal procedure; and accessible and affordable treatment options for men.

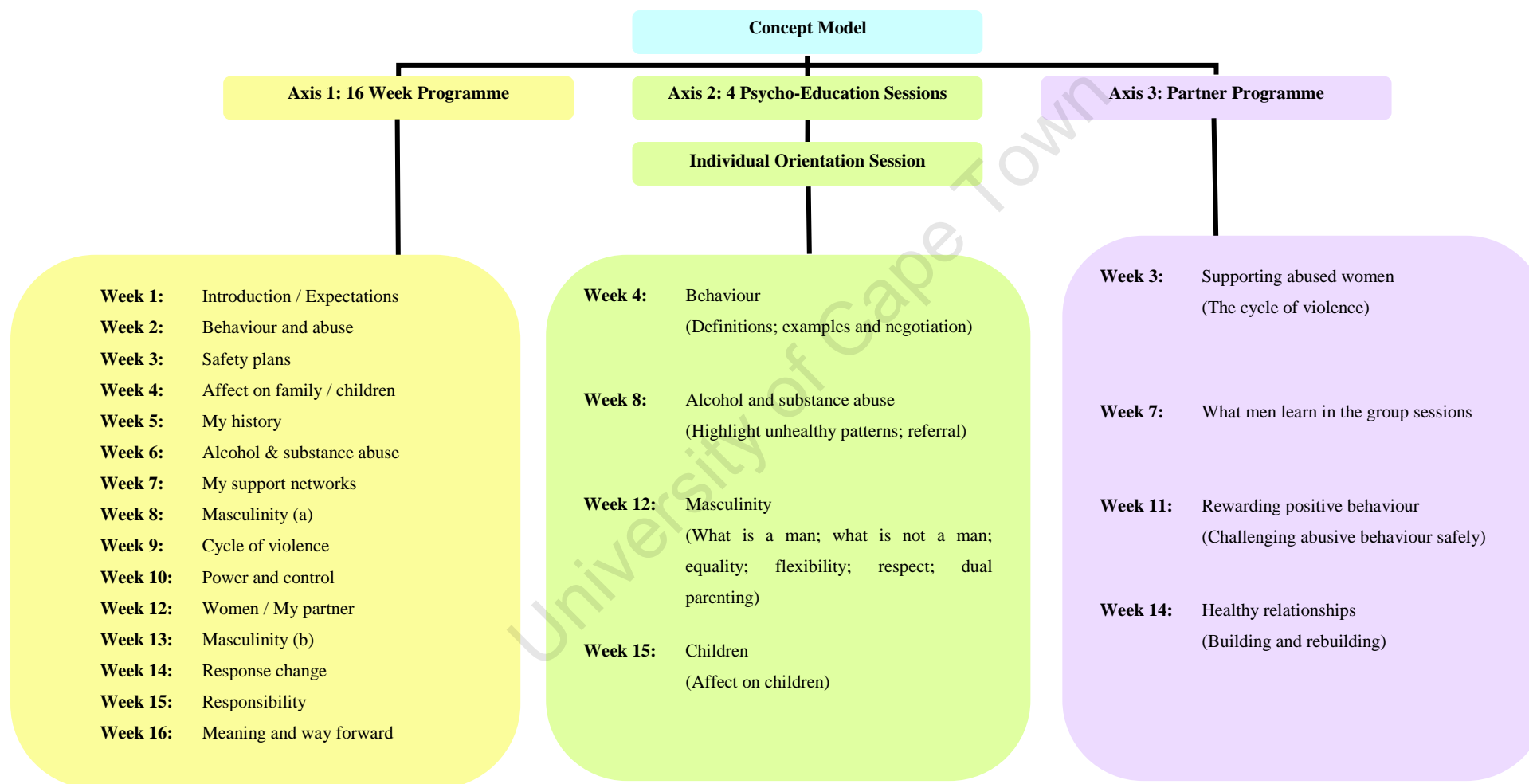
Other studies, which explore treatment options, have included the themes which are outlined in Column B and Column C (Londt, 2004; Wexler, 2000). The literature also appears to suggest a number of different treatment options which include the Duluth Model (Pence & Paymar, 1993); the Domestic Violence Intervention Project (Burton, Regan, & Kelly, 1998); and the New Directions Programme (as cited in

Londt, 2004). In summary, the treatment options which are mentioned above range from 12 to 24 weeks; include male and female group facilitators; operate on a closed or open basis (which means they accept new members every 16 weeks if they are closed and every 4 to 6 weeks if they are open); included individual counselling; provide a separate service for women or victims of abuse (Londt, 2004; Rossiter, Waddington, & Nancarrow, 1999); view violence as a means to gain power over female partners (Bograd, 1988; Ptacek, 1988; Rosenbaum & Leisring, 2003); focus on understanding violence; and obligate men to take responsibility for their behaviour (Gondolf, 2007).

Comparatively, the treatment intervention that participants attended took place over a 16 week period; included both male and female facilitators; was closed; did not always include individual counselling but encouraged this when required; did not provide a partner group but encouraged individual counselling for partners; viewed violence as a means to gain power and control; and focused on men understanding violence and taking responsibility for their behaviour.

The question which remains is how to incorporate emerging themes with the existing literature of treatment options? If one compares Dutton and Corvo (2007) with Gondolf (2007), a very interesting debate takes place regarding the Duluth Model. Gondolf (2007) argues that group-based interventions, which are based on cognitive-behavioural therapy, are extremely effective in treating male perpetrators of domestic violence. Conversely, Dutton and Corvo (2007) suggest that such models (the Duluth Model referred to above) do not consider male victimisation, female violence and personality disturbances, which may contribute to or cause violent behaviour. Seemingly, and taking into consideration other programmes in other countries, treatment interventions in South Africa may require expansion. Furthermore, it can be argued that the need for expansion is reinforced within emerging themes in this study. Therefore, the following Model (Figure 5.1) provides a proposed and practical concept illustration of what a treatment intervention for male perpetrators in the Western Cape could entail.

Figure 5. 1 Concept Model for Treatment of Male Perpetrators of Domestic Violence in the Western Cape



The proposed concept Model (hereafter referred to as the Model) also attempts to incorporate or capture the focus on individual sessions; group sessions; and the female partner. Thus, it appears to include 'grey areas' that are highlighted in this study, as well as in a review of treatment interventions which are guided by the Duluth Model (Dutton & Corvo, 2007; Ehrensaft, 2008; Gondolf, 2007).

The Model consists of three axes which are described below. Axis One illustrates an existing 16 week treatment intervention which consists of sixteen (16) 90 minute sessions. Axis Two highlights a number of additions which have been suggested. These additions are summarised as: one (1) individual orientation session prior to entering the group environment; and four (4) group-based separate psycho-educational sessions which focus on behaviour, masculinity, substance abuse and children, respectively. Axis Three proposes a parallel programme consisting of four (4) sessions for partners. These sessions focus on: supporting abused women; the cycle of violence; what men learn in group sessions; rewarding positive behaviour; challenging abusive behaviour safely; and healthy relationship dynamics. The Model also requires self-reports from both partners after the third and sixth month since starting treatment.

The 16 week programme (Axis 1) is based on the existing programme which men in this study attended; and does not necessarily follow the order illustrated in the Model. Furthermore, the Model suggests incorporating findings within this study and may only be applicable to male perpetrators of domestic violence in the Western Cape. Essentially, treatment interventions such as the proposed Model require careful construction and research in order to ensure that they are valid and efficient in treating male perpetrators of domestic violence. The cost of funding and sustaining such a model should also be incorporated within the construction process. Therefore, using this Model without the necessary preparation is not recommended and further investigation on its application is required.

5.2 Limitations and recommendations for future research

A number of limitations were identified in this study. This section highlights these limitations and their potential influence on this study.

This study consisted of 12 participants who were recruited from an existing male perpetrator rehabilitation programme. Initially, 20 participants indicated their interest in participating. However, because of dropout and failure to attend appointments, only 12 participants participated in this study. Further studies of this nature may want to consider remunerating participants, or providing additional services such as free individual counselling in order to encourage participation. While it is not the aim of qualitative research to make generalisations from the sample to the population, it is acknowledged only limited inferences can be made from studies with small sample sizes.

Participant selection was done on the basis of 'being a male perpetrator.' No specification was set relating to exposure to a treatment programme. Therefore, participants were exposed to different levels of treatment at the time of the interviews. Further studies with male perpetrators may want to target participants prior to joining a treatment programme. Possibly, this may elicit 'less-rehabilitated-versions' of their experiences.

No follow up interviews were conducted with participants. However, the objective of the study did not require longitudinal data and participants were continuing to receive treatment in most cases. Potentially, telephone-interviews may be useful as a follow-up measure for further studies of this nature.

The findings in this study highlight three crucial recommendations for further research. The first recommendation is to incorporate these findings in the context of perpetrator treatment programmes in South Africa. In other words, these findings may be useful to improve the content of current treatment interventions with men in South Africa. Therefore, as researchers, the next step is to conduct a study(s) which explores different treatment options for perpetrators (Abrahams, et al., 2006; Londt, 2004). The Model (Figure 5.1) serves as a guideline for this purpose.

A second recommendation is to focus on violence prevention in the youth. This recommendation stems from the finding that many children and adolescents were physically abused and, or exposed to domestic violence. Ehrensaft (2008) also emphasises the importance of focusing on the youth and associates exposure to

domestic violence with the antisocial behaviour disorder in adolescents. Additionally, effects on children such as suicide attempts, poor concentration and emotional distress, are also evident in this study and the literature (Appel & Holden, 1998; Diamond & Muller, 2004; Holden, 1998). Ultimately, this study supports the need for further exploration of intricate prevention programmes which focus on the youth; identify unhealthy family behaviour; and redefine healthy family and social behaviour.

The third recommendation is to challenge and amend existing legislation which governs domestic violence in South Africa (Londt, 2004). The findings in this study suggest that men did not understand the legislation as a tool to prevent domestic violence. Seemingly, the legislation provides very little support in light of rehabilitating offenders and supporting women who are 'forced' to remain in the relationship. It could be argued that some of the participants in this programme may never see a prison cell, yet they will continue to remain in a relationship where they use various forms of abuse with their intimate partners. The question that remains is, does the Domestic Violence Act (1998) fail or succeed to protect these men and women?

It is proposed that the Domestic Violence Act (1998) be amended to specify the nature of treatment options for men; ensure that these treatment options are accessible and affordable for men and women; and provide a mandate for the provision of treatment centres for men and women (Brown, 2004). While this proposal may have a huge and unknown funding implication on the national budget, it should be prioritised in order to aggressively tackle the high occurrence of domestic violence in South Africa.

5.3 Authors note: Personal reflection

My interest in domestic violence began whilst working as an unqualified social worker in the United Kingdom from 2004 to 2006. There, I encountered a number of different forms of abuse, which took place with some of the clients I worked with. I remember the woman with the alcoholic husband who beat her; and the illegal immigrant whose husband removed her passport and used physical violence

continually. I returned to South Africa where I worked as a volunteer trauma counsellor at a local police station in the Western Cape. While working as a trauma counsellor, I became overwhelmed with cases of domestic violence. I also observed poverty in the community; only women presenting as domestic violence victims; poor support services for victims or perpetrators of domestic violence; and the high cost of private clinics that may treat victims and perpetrators of domestic violence.

Consequently, I approached the University of Cape Town to explore the issue of domestic violence. Seemingly, what I observed as a trauma counsellor was indeed the reality of domestic violence on a global level. While deciding upon a thesis topic, I also noticed that the area where I worked as a trauma counsellor consisted largely of military personnel. Therefore, I enquired with the ‘authorities’ about conducting a study on domestic violence in their organisation. The response – a flat refusal – due to the ‘red tape’ which they indicated made studies of this nature impossible. Ultimately, what this suggests is that large organisations such as the one I approached appeared to be more concerned about their image than the problem of domestic violence.

Over the past 2 years, I’ve worked in two State Departments whilst conducting this study. Ostensibly, domestic violence and its effects on the workplace have continued to be ever-present. Disturbingly, I am met with the same problems, which I faced as a trauma counsellor almost three years ago. I reiterate the echoes of many practitioners in the field and I ask myself – What is happening out there and how can it be improved? It is ultimately hoped that this thesis will contribute to alleviating the widespread problem of domestic violence.

5.4 Final conclusion

The findings in this study concur with similar studies, which have taken place in other countries (Scott Tilly & Brackley, 2005; Reitz 1999; Wood, 2001, 2004) and in South Africa (Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004; Londt, 2004). Notably, this study solely focused on ‘the perpetrators side of the story’ while others appear to have focused on either women victims; a combination of perpetrators and victims (ie couples); or prevalence rates. Domestic violence still continues unscathed in homes and

communities globally and locally. It is essential that the legislation which governs domestic violence in South Africa, be critically evaluated and amended to include rehabilitation – as it has done in the case of other legislation. Without this, the battle appears to be ‘fought in vain.’ Surely, simultaneously building women’s resilience and capacitating men on changing their abusive behaviour is a viable alternative? Other studies which focus on domestic violence appear to be sending out the same message (Contrino, et al., 2007; Gondolf, 2002, 2004, 2007; Londt, 2004).

The key message of this study suggests that legislatives and treatment intervention programmes make use of the findings or recommendations as, and where possible in order to prevent further abuse.

University of Cape Town

REFERENCES

- Abrahams, N., Jewkes, R., Laubscher, R., & Hoffman, M. (2006). Intimate partner violence: Prevalence and risk factors for men in Cape Town. *Violence and Victims, 21*(2), 247-264.
- Adams, P., Towns, A., & Gavey, N. (1995). Dominance and entitlement: The rhetoric men use to discuss their violence toward women. *Discourse and Society, 6*, 387-486.
- American Institute on Domestic Violence. (2001). *Domestic violence in the work place statistics*. Retrieved January, 16, 2009, from <http://www.aidv-usa.com/statistics.htm>
- Appel, A., & Holden, G. (1998). The co-occurrence of spouse and physical child abuse: A review and appraisal. *Journal of Family Psychology, 12*(4), 578-599.
- Ashworth, P. (2008). Conceptual foundations of qualitative psychology. In J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative psychology. A practical guide to research methods* (2nd ed., pp. 4-25). London: Sage.
- Avakame, D. F. (1998). Intergenerational transmission of domestic violence, self-control, and conjugal violence: A comparative analysis of physical violence and psychological aggression. *Violence and Victims, 13*, 301-316.
- Babcock, J. C., Green, C. E., & Robie, C. (2004). Does batterers' treatment work? A meta-analytic review of domestic violence treatment. *Clinical Psychology Review 23*, 1023-1053.
- Babcock, J. C., Candy, B. E., Graham, K., & Schart, I. (2007). The evolution of battering interventions: From the dark ages into the scientific age. In J. Hamel & T. L. Nicholls (Eds.), *Family interventions in domestic violence: A handbook of gender-inclusive theory and treatment* (pp. 215-244). New York: Springer.
- Baker, N. L. (2006). Feminist psychology in the service of women: Staying engaged without getting married. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 30*, 1-14.
- Bandura, A. (1971). *Social learning theory*. New York: General Learning.
- Bean, J., & Möller, A. T. (2002). Posttraumatic stress and depressive symptomatology in a sample of battered women from South Africa. *Psychological Reports, 90*, 750-752.
- Bell, C. (1995). Exposure to violence distresses children and may lead to their becoming violent. *Psychiatric News, 15*, 6-8.

- Bhana, D., Morrell, R., Hearn, J., & Moletsane, R. (2007). Power and identity: An introduction to sexualities in Southern Africa. *Sexualities*, 10(2), 131-139.
- Bochner, A., Ellis, C., & Tillmann-Healy, L. (1997). Relationships as stories. In S. W. Duck (Ed.), *Handbook of personal relationships: Theory, research and interventions* (2nd ed., pp. 307-324). Chichester: Wiley.
- Bograd, M. (1988). Feminist perspectives on wife abuse: An introduction. In K. Yllö & M. Bograd (Eds.), *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse* (pp. 11-26). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Bollen, S., Artz, L., Vetten, L., & Louw, A. (1999). *Violence against women in metropolitan South Africa: A study on impact and service delivery*. Pretoria: Institute of Security Studies.
- Bond, J. T., Galinsky, E., & Swanberg, J. E. (1998). *National study of the changing workforce*. New York, NY: Families and Work Institute.
- Boonzaier, F., & de la Rey, C. (2004). Woman abuse: The construction of gender in women and men's narratives of violence. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 34(3), 443-463.
- Bowlby, J. (1980a). *Attachment and Loss, Volume III: Loss*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bowlby, J. (1980b). Violence in the family as a disorder of the attachment and caregiving systems. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 44(1), 9-28.
- Braksmajer, A., & Kimmel, M. (2007). Book review: Medicalized masculinities. *Society*, 21, 445-447.
- Breines, W., & Gordon, L. (1983). The new scholarship on family violence signs. *Journal of Woman in Culture and Society*, 8, 490-531.
- Brinkmann, S., & Kvale, S. (2008). Ethics in qualitative psychological research. In C. Willig & W. Stainton-Rogers (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in psychology* (pp. 263-279). London: Sage.
- Brown, J. (2004). Shame and domestic violence: Treatment perspectives for perpetrators from self-psychology and affect theory. *Sexual and Relationship Therapy*, 19(1), 39-56.
- Buchbinder, E., & Eisikovits, Z. (2004). Between normality and deviance: The breakdown of batterers' identity following police intervention. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 19(4), 443-467.
- Buchbinder, E., & Eisikovits, Z. (2008). Doing treatment: Batterer's experience of intervention. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 30, 616-630.

- Bunch, C. (1990). Women's rights as human rights: Toward a re-vision of human rights. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 12, 486-498.
- Burazeri, G., Roshi, E., Jewkes, R., Jordan, S., Bjegovic, V., & Laaser, U. (2005). Factors associated with spousal physical violence in Albania: Cross sectional study. *British Medical Journal*, 331(7510), 197-201.
- Burton, S., Regan, L., & Kelly, L. (1998). *Supporting women and challenging men: Lessons from the Domestic Violence Intervention Project*. United Kingdom, Bristol: The Policy Press
- Campbell, J. C., & Lewandowski, L. A. (1997). Mental and physical effects of intimate partner violence on women and children. *Psychiatric Clinics of North America*, 20, 353-374.
- Carlson, B.E. (2000). Children exposed to intimate partner violence. *Trauma, Violence and Abuse*, 1, 321-342.
- Caetano, R., & Cunradi, C. (2003). Intimate partner violence and depression among whites, blacks and hispanics. *Ann Epidemiol*, 13(10), 661-665.
- Cavanagh, K., Dobash, R. E., Dobash, R. P., & Lewis, R. (2001). 'Remedial work': Men's strategic responses to their violence against intimate female partners. *Sociology*, 33(3), 695-714.
- Charmaz, K. (2003). Grounded theory. In J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative psychology. A practical guide to research methods* (pp. 81-112). London: Sage.
- Charmaz, K. (2008). Grounded theory. In J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative psychology. A practical guide to research methods* (2nd ed., pp. 81-110). London: Sage.
- Cieurzo, C., & Keitel, M. (1999). Ethics in qualitative research. In M. Kopala & L. Suzuki (Eds.), *Using qualitative methods in psychology* (pp. 63-76). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Clawson, H. J. (1999). Testing a social learning theory of wife-abuse among Air Force active duty service members: Does abuse in the family of origin predict spouse abuse later in life. *Dissertation Abstracts International Section B: The Sciences & Engineering*, 60 (6-B), 3014.
- Coker, A. L., Davis, K. E., Arias, I., Desai, S., Sanderson, M., Brandt, H. M., & Smith, P. H. (2002). Physical and mental health effects of intimate partner violence for men and women. *American Journal of Preventative Medicine*, 23(4), 260-268.
- Conger, R., Elder, G., Lorenz, F., Conger, K., Simons, R. Whitbeck, L., Huck, S., & Melby, J. (1990). Linking economic hardship to marital quality and instability. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 52, 643-656.

- Conger, R. D., Reuter, M., & Elder, G. H. (1999). Couple resilience to economic pressure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 76, 54-71.
- Contrino, K. M., Dermen, K. H., Nochajski, T. H., Wieczorek, W. F., & Navratil, P. K. (2007). Compliance and learning in an intervention program for partner-violent men. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 22, 1555-1566.
- Corey, G. (2001). *Theory and practice of counseling and psychotherapy*. California, USA: Brooks/Cole Thomas Learning.
- Cortina, L. M., & Kubiak, S. P. (2006). Gender and posttraumatic stress: Sexual violence as an explanation for women's increased risk. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 115(4), 753-759.
- Corvo, K. (1997). Community-based youth violence prevention: A framework for funders and planners. *Youth and Society*, 28(3), 291-396.
- Corvo, K. (2006). Violence, separation and loss in the families of origin of domestically violent men. *Journal of Family Violence*, 21(2), 117-125.
- Coyle, A. (2007). Discourse analysis. In E. Lyons & A. Coyle (Eds.), *Analysing qualitative data in psychology* (pp. 98-116). London: Sage.
- Crossley, M. (2007). Narrative analysis. In E. Lyons & A. Coyle (Eds.), *Analysing qualitative data in psychology* (pp. 131-144). London: Sage.
- Crouter, A. C., Bumpus, M. F., Head, M. R., & McHale, S. M. (2001). Implications of overwork and overload on the quality of men's family relationships. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 63, 404-416.
- Cudd, A. E., & Andreasen, R. O. (2005). *Feminist theory: A philosophical anthology*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Dawes, A., de Sas Kropiwnicki, Z., Kafaar, Z., & Richter, L. (2004). *Partner violence: A South African survey*. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council.
- Denzin, N. K. (1984). Towards a phenomenology of domestic family violence. *American Journal of Sociology*, 90, 483-513.
- Diamond, T., & Muller, R. T. (2004). The relationship between witnessing parental conflict during childhood and later psychological adjustment among university students: Disentangling confounding risk factors. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 36(4), 295-309.
- Director, T. D., & Linden, J. A. (2004). Domestic Violence: An approach to identification and intervention. *Emergency Medicine Clinics of North America*, 22, 1117-1132.

- Dobash, R. E., & Dobash, R. (1979). *Violence against wives: A Case against patriarchy*. New York: The Free Press.
- Dobash, R. P., & Dobash, R. E. (2001). Criminal justice programmes for men who assault their partners. In C. R. Hollin (Ed.), *Handbook of offender assessment and treatment* (pp. 379-389). Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.
- Dobash, R. P., Dobash, R. E., Wilson, M., & Daly, M. (1992). The myth of sexual symmetry in marital violence. *Social Problems*, 39(1), 71-91.
- Domestic Violence Act of 1998. Retrieved September, 01, 2007, from the LexisNexis: Butterworths (South Africa) database.
- Dorahy, M. J., Lewis, C. A., & Wolfe, F. A. (2007). Psychological distress associated with domestic violence in Northern Ireland. *Current Psychology*, 25(4), 295-305.
- Douki, S., Nacef, F., Belhadj, A., Bouasker, A., & Ghachem, R. (2003). Violence against women in Arab and Islamic countries. *Archives of Women's Mental Health*, 6, 165-171.
- Dunkle, K. L., Jewkes, R. K., Brown, H. C., Gray, G. E., McIntyre, J. A., & Harlow, S. D. (2004). Gender-based violence, relationship power, and risk of HIV infection in women attending antenatal clinics in South Africa. *The Lancet*, 363(9419), 1415-1421.
- Dunkle, K. L., Jewkes, R. K., Nduna, M., Levin, J., Jama, N., Khuswayo, N., Koss, M., & Duvvury, N. (2006). Perpetration of partner violence and HIV risk behaviour among young men in the rural Eastern Cape, South Africa. *Aids*, 20(16), 2107-2114.
- Dutton, D. G. (1986). The outcome of court-mandated treatment for wife assault: A quasi-experimental evaluation. *Violence and Victims*, 3, 163-175.
- Dutton, D. G. (2007). *The abusive personality: Violence and control in intimate relationships*. (2nd ed.). New York: Guildford Press.
- Dutton, D. G., & Corvo, K. (2007). The Duluth model: A data-impervious paradigm and a failed strategy. *Aggression and Violent Behaviour*, 12, 658-667.
- Dutton, D. G., & Nicholls, T. L. (2005). The gender paradigm in domestic violence research and theory: Part 1 - The conflict of theory and data. *Aggression and Violent Behaviour*, 10(6), 680-714.
- Dutton, D. G., Saunders, K., Starzomski, A., & Bartholomew, K. (1994). Intimacy anger and insecure attachment as precursors of abuse in intimate relationships. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 24(15), 1367-1386.
- Dutton, D. G., & Starzomski, A. J. (1997). Personality predictors of the Minnesota power and control wheel. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 12, 70-78.

- Dutton, D. G., Van Ginkel, C., & Starzomski, A. J. (1995). The role of shame and guilt in the intergenerational transmission of abusiveness. *Violence and Victims, 10*, 121-132.
- Easley, M. (1996). Domestic Violence. *Annals of Emergency Medicine, 27*(6), 762-763.
- Eatough, V., & Smith, J. A. (2008). Interpretative phenomenological analysis. In C. Willig & W. Stainton-Rogers (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in psychology* (pp. 179-194). London: Sage.
- Edleson, R., & Tolman, M. (1992). *Intervention for men who batter: An ecological approach*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ehrensaft, M. K. (2008). Intimate partner violence: Persistence of myths and implications for intervention. *Children and Youth Services Review, 30*, 276-286.
- Eisikovits, Z. C., & Buchbinder, E. (1996). Towards a phenomenological intervention with violence in intimate relationships. In J. L. Edleson & Z. C. Eisikovits (Eds.), *Future Interventions with battered women and their families* (pp. 186-200). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Eisikovits, Z. C., & Buchbinder, E. (1997). Talking Violent: A phenomenological study of metaphors battering men use. *Violence Against Women, 3*, 482-498.
- Ellison, C., & Anderson, K. (2001). Religious involvement and domestic violence among U.S. couples. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 40*(2), 269-286.
- Ellison, C. G., Bartkowski, J. P., & Anderson, K. L. (1999). Are there religious variations in domestic violence? *Journal of Family Issues, 20*(1), 87-113.
- Ellison, C. G., Trinitapoli, J. A., Anderson, K. L., & Johnson, B. R. (2007). Race/ethnicity, religious involvement and domestic violence. *Violence Against Women, 13*(11), 1094-1112.
- Elmes, D.G., Kantowitz, B.H., & Roediger III, H.L. (1999). *Research methods in psychology*. (6th ed.). California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.
- Employment Equity Act of 1998. Retrieved November, 10, 2008, from the LexisNexis: Butterworths (South Africa) database.
- Ellsberg, M., Peña, R., Herrera, A., Liljestrand, J., & Winkvist, A. (2000). Candies in hell: Women's experiences of violence in Nicaragua. *Social Science and Medicine, 51*(11), 1595-1610.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York: Norton.

- Evans, S. E., Davies, C., & DiLillo, D. (2008). Exposure to domestic violence: A meta-analysis of child and adolescent outcomes. *Aggression and Violent Behaviour, 13*, 131-140.
- Fals-Stewart, W., Leonard, K. E., & Birchler, G. R. (2005). The occurrence of male-to-female intimate partner violence on days of men's drinking: The moderating effects of antisocial personality disorder. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 73*(2), 239-248.
- Fearon, J. D. (1999). *What is identity (as we now use the word)?* Unpublished manuscript, Stanford University, California.
- Freud, S. (1923). *The ego and the id*. London: Hogarth.
- George, D. T., Phillips, M. J., Doty, L., Umhau, J. C., & Rawlings, R. R. (2006). A model linking biology, behaviour and psychiatric diagnoses in perpetrators of domestic violence. *Medical Hypotheses, 67*, 345-353.
- Gergen, M. (2008). Qualitative methods in feminist psychology. In C. Willig & W. Stainton-Rogers (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in psychology* (pp. 280-295). London: Sage.
- Giles, J., & Middleton, T. (2008). *Studying culture: A practical introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Giorgi, A., & Giorgi, B. (2003). Phenomenology. In J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods* (pp. 25-50). London: Sage.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. New York: Aldine.
- Golding, J. M. (1999). Intimate partner violence as a risk factor for mental disorders: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Family Violence, 14*, 99-132.
- Gortner, E. T., Gollan, J. K., & Jacobson, N. S. (1997). Psychological aspects of perpetrators of domestic violence and their relationships with the victims. *Psychiatric Clinics of North America, 20*(2), 337-352.
- Goffman, E. (1971). *Relations in public: Microstudies of the public order*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gondolf, E.W. (1999). MCMI-III results for batterer program participants in four cities: Less "pathological" than expected. *Journal of Family Violence, 14*, 329-341.
- Gondolf, E.W. (2000). How batterer program participants avoid reassault. *Violence Against Women, 6*, 1204-1222.

- Gondolf, E. (2002). *Batterer intervention systems: Issues, outcomes, and recommendations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Gondolf, E. (2004). Evaluating batterer counselling programs: A difficult task showing some effects. *Aggression and Violent Behaviour*, 9(6), 605-631.
- Gondolf, E. W. (2007). Theoretical and research support for the Duluth Model: A reply to Dutton and Corvo. *Aggression and Violent Behaviour*, 12, 644-657.
- Gondolf, E. W., & Russell, D. (1986). Case against anger control treatment programs for batterers. *Response to the Victimization of Women and Children*, 9(3), 2-5.
- Goodrum, S., Umberson, D., & Anderson, K. L. (2001). The batterer's view of the self and others in domestic violence. *Sociological Enquiry*, 71(2), 221-240.
- Gregg, G. S. (2005). The Middle East: Cultural psychology (culture, cognition and behaviour). *Ethos*, 26, 120-152.
- Griffith, S. M., Negy, C., & Chadee, D. (2006). Trinidadian and US Citizens attitudes towards domestic violence and their willingness to intervene: Does culture make a difference? *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 37, 761-778.
- Guba, E.G., & Lincoln, Y.S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 105-117). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Haj Yahia, M. M. (1998). A patriarchal perspective of beliefs about wife-beating amongst Palestinian men from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. *Journal of Family Issues*, 19(5), 595-621.
- Haj Yahia, M. M. (1999). Wife abuse and its psychological consequences as revealed by the first Palestinian national survey on violence against women. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 13(4), 642-662.
- Haj Yahia, M. M. (2000a). Implications of wife-abuse and battering for self esteem, depression and anxiety as revealed by the first Palestinian National Survey on Violence Against Women. *Journal of Family Issues*, 21(4), 435-463.
- Haj Yahia, M. M. (2000b). Wife-abuse and battering in the sociocultural context of Arab society. *Family Process*, 39(2), 237-255.
- Hammond, W., & Mattis, J. (2005). Being a man about it: Manhood meaning among African American men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 6(2), 114-126.
- Hearn, J. (1998). *The violences of men: How men talk about and how agencies respond to men's violence to women*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Heise, L. & Garcia-Moreno, C. (2002). Violence by intimate partners. In E. G. Krug, L. L. Dahlberg, J. A. Mercy, A. B. Zwi, & R. Lozano (Eds.), *World report on violence and health* (pp. 89-121), Geneva: World Health Organization.

- Hines, D., & Malley-Morrison, K. (2001). Psychological effects of partner abuse against men: A neglected research area. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 2(2), 75-85.
- Holden, G. W. (1998). Introduction: The development of research into another consequence of family violence. In G. Holden, R. Geffner, & E. Jouriles (Eds.), *Children exposed to marital violence: Theory, research, and applied issues* (pp. 1-15). Washington DC: American Psychological Association.
- Holden, G. W., & Ritchie, K. L. (1991). Linking extreme marital discord, child rearing, and child behavior problems: Evidence from battered women. *Child Development*, 62, 311-327.
- Holtzworth-Munroe, A., Bates, L., Smutzler, N., & Sandin, E. (1997). A brief review of the research on husband violence. *Aggression and Violent Behaviour*, 1, 65-99.
- Holtzworth-Munroe, A., Meehan, J. C., Herron, K., Rehman, U., & Stuart, G. L. (2003). Do subtypes of maritally violent men continue to differ over time? *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 71(4), 728-740.
- Hotaling, G. T., & Sugarman, D. B. (1986). An analysis of risk markers in husband to wife violence: The current state of knowledge. *Violence and Victims*, 1(3), 101-124.
- Howells, K., Day, A., Bubner, S., Jauncey, S., Williamson, P., Parker, A., & Heseltine, K. (2002). Anger management and violence prevention: Improving effectiveness. Retrieved October, 18, 2007, from <http://www.aic.gov.au>
- Jennings, J. (1990). Preventing relapse versus stopping domestic violence: Do we expect too much too soon from battering men? *Journal of Family Violence*, 1, 43-60.
- Jewkes, R. (2002). Intimate partner violence: Causes and prevention. *Lancet*, 359, 1423-1429.
- Jewkes, R., & Abrahams, N. (2002). The epidemiology of rape and sexual coercion in South Africa: An overview. *Social Science and Medicine*, 55(7), 1231-1244.
- Jewkes, R., Levin, J., & Penn-Kekana, L. (2002). Risk factors for domestic violence: Findings from a South African cross-sectional study. *Social Science and Medicine*, 55, 1603-1617.
- Jewkes, R., Penn-Kekana, L., Levin, J., Ratsaka, M., & Schrieber, M. (2001). Prevalence of emotional, physical and sexual abuse of woman in three South African provinces. *South African Medical Journal*, 91(5), 421-428.
- Johnson, L. P., & O'Leary, D. K. (1996). Behavioural components of marital satisfaction: An individualized assessment approach. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 64(2), 417-423.

- Johnson, M. (1995). Patriarchal terrorism and common couple violence: Two forms of violence against women. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 57, 283-294.
- Johnson, P. J., & Hellerstedt, W. L. (2002). Current or past physical or sexual abuse as a risk marker for sexually transmitted disease in pregnant women. *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health*, 34(2), 62-67.
- Kessler, R. C., Molnar, B. E., Feurer, I. D., & Appelbaum, M. (2001). Patterns and mental health predictors of domestic violence in the United States: Results from the national comorbidity survey. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, 24, 487-508.
- Kimmel, M. (1996). *Manhood*. New York: Free Press.
- Kimmel, M. (2002). Gender, class and terrorism. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 48(22), 8.
- Kohut, H. (1972). Thoughts on narcissism and narcissistic rage. *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, 27, 360-400.
- Kohut, H., & Ornstein, P. H. (1978). *The search for the self: Selected writings of Heinz Kohut, 1950-1978*. New York: International Universities Press.
- Krug, E. G., Dahlberg, L. L., Mercy, J. A., Zwi, A. B., & Lozano, R. (Eds.). (2002). *World report on violence and health*. Geneva: World Health Organisation.
- Levitt, H. M., Swanger, R. T., & Butler, J. B. (2008). Male perpetrators' perspectives on intimate partner violence, religion and masculinity. *Sex Roles*, 58, 435-448.
- Kvale, S. (2003). The psychoanalytical interview as inspiration for qualitative research. In P. Camic, J. E. Rhodes & L. Yardley (Eds.), *Qualitative research in psychology* (pp. 275-297). Washington: American Psychological Association.
- Liker, J. K., & Elder, G. H. (1983). Economic hardship and marital relations in the 1930s. *American Sociological Review*, 48(3), 343-359.
- Londt, M. P. (2004). *Management of domestic violence: Risk-based assessment and intervention*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of the Western Cape, South Africa.
- Lyons, E., & Coyle, A. (2007). Approaches to data analysis. In E Lyons & A. Coyle (Eds.), *Analysing qualitative data in psychology* (pp. 32-34). London: Sage.
- Mahalingam, E. & Balan, S. (2008). Culture, son preference and beliefs about masculinity. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 18(3), 541-553.

- Marais, A., de Villiers, P. J., Möller, A. T., & Stein, D. J. (1999). Domestic violence in patients visiting general practitioners - Prevalence, phenomenology, and association with psychopathology. *The South African Medical Journal*, 89(6), 635-640.
- Martin, S. L., Matza, L. S., Kupper, L. L., Thomas, J. C., Daly M., & Cloutier, S. (1999). Domestic violence and sexually transmitted diseases: The experience of prenatal care patients. *Public Health Reports*, 114, 262-268.
- Martin, S. L., Tsui, A. O., Maitra, K., & Marinshaw, R. (1999). Domestic Violence in Northern India. *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 150(4), 417-426.
- Matthews, S., Abrahams, N., Martin, L., Vetten, L., Van de Merwe, L., & Jewkes, R. (2004). *"Every six hours a woman is killed": A national study of female homicide in South Africa*. Cape Town, South Africa: Medical Research Council: Division of Forensic Medicine & Toxicology, University of Cape Town.
- May, R. (1983). *The discovery of being: Writings in existential psychology*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.
- Mayselless, O. (1991). Adult attachment patterns of courtship violence. *Family Relations*, 40, 21-28.
- McDonald, M. (1994). *Gender, drink and drugs*. Oxford: Berg.
- Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self, and society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Meel, B. L. (2006). Domestic violence by intimate male partners in the Transkei region of South Africa. In M. Lipshitz (Ed.), *Domestic violence and its reverberations* (pp. 199-210). Hauppauge, NY: Nova Science Publishers.
- Messner, M. A. (1992). *Power at play: Sports and the problem of masculinity*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Meyers, M. (1997). *News coverage of violence against women: Engendering blame*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Miller, T. R., Cohen, M. A., & Wiersema, B. (1996). *Victim costs and consequences: A new look*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.
- Murphy, C. M., Taft, C. T., & Eckhardt, C. I. (2007). Anger problem profiles among partner violent men: Differences in clinical presentation and treatment outcome. *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 54(2), 189-200.
- Murray, M. (2008). Narrative psychology. In J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative psychology. A practical guide to research methods* (2nd ed., pp. 111-132). London: Sage.

- Nicholls, T. L., & Dutton, D. G. (2001). Abuse committed by women against male intimates. *Journal of Couples Therapy*, 10, 41-57.
- Norlander, B., & Eckhardt, C. (2005). Anger, hostility, and male perpetrators of intimate partner violence: A meta-analytic review. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 25, 119-152.
- O'Leary, D. K., & Williams, M. C. (2006). Agreement about acts of aggression in marriage. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 20(4), 656-662.
- Pan, A., Daley, S., Rivera, L. M., Williams, K., Lingle, D., & Reznik, V. (2006). Understanding the role of culture in domestic violence: The Ahimsa project for safe families. *The Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, 8(1), 35-43.
- Paré, D. A., Bondy, J., & Malhotra, C. (2006). Performing respect: Using enactments in group work with men who have abused. *Journal of Systemic Therapies*, 1, 16-36.
- Parry, C. (2000). *Alcohol and family violence*. Retrieved March, 10, 2007, from <http://www.sahealthinfo.org/admodule/alcohol.htm>
- Patterson, G. R., DeBaryshe, B. D., & Ramsey, E. (1989). A developmental perspective on antisocial behaviour. *American Psychologist*, 44, 329-335.
- Payne, S. (2007). Grounded theory. In E. Lyons & A. Coyle (Eds.), *Analysing qualitative data in psychology* (pp. 65-86). London: Sage.
- Peacock, D., & Levack, A. (2004). The men as partners programme in South Africa: Reaching men to end gender-based violence and promote sexual and reproductive health. *International Journal of Men's Health*, 3(3), 173-188.
- Pence, E., & Paymar, M. (1993). *Educational groups for men who batter: The Duluth model*. New York: Springer.
- Piers, G., & Singer, M. (1953). *Shame and guilt*. New York: Norton.
- Pollio, H. R., Henley, T., & Thompson, C. B. (1997). *The phenomenology of everyday life*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and social psychology: Beyond attitudes and behaviour*. London: Sage.
- Presser, L. (2003). Remorse and neutralization among violent male offenders. *Justice Quarterly*, 20(4), 801-825.
- Ptacek, J. (1988). Why do men batter their wives? In K. Yllö & M. Bograd (Eds.), *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse* (pp. 133-157). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

- Raj, A., & Silverman, J. (2002). Violence against immigrant women: The roles of culture, context, and legal immigrant status on intimate partner violence. *Violence Against Women*, 8, 367-398.
- Reitz, R. R. (1999). Batterer's experiences of being violent. A phenomenological study. *Psychology of Woman*, 23, 143-165.
- Ricoeur P. (1976). *Interpretation theory: Discourse and the surplus of meaning*. TX, USA: Christian University Press.
- Ricoeur, P. (1991). The human experience of time and narrative. In M. J. Valdes (Ed.), *A Ricoeur reader: Reflection and imagination* (pp. 99-116). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Ribbens, J., & Edwards, R. (1998). *Feminist dilemmas in qualitative research: Public knowledge and private lives*. London: Sage.
- Rosenbaum, A., & Leisring, P. A. (2003). Beyond power and control: Towards an understanding of partner abusive men. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 34(1), 7-22.
- Rosenblatt, P. C. (1995). Ethics of qualitative interviewing with grieving families. *Death studies*, 19, 139-155.
- Rossiter, C., Waddington, R., & Nancarrow, H. (1999). *Ending Domestic violence? Programmes for Perpetrators. Full Report*. Canberra, Australia: Commonwealth of Australia.
- Russell, D. E. H. (1988). In K. Yllö & M. Bograd (Eds.), *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse* (pp. 7-9). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Russell, M. N. (1995). *Confronting abusive beliefs: Group treatment for abusive men*. London: Sage Publications.
- Ryff, C. D. (1989). Happiness is everything, or is it? Explorations on the meaning of psychological well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57(6), 1069-1081.
- Samodien, L., & Van Der Fort, F. (2007, July 27). Victims of abuse often turn violent. *Cape Argus*, p.6.
- Sarbin, T. R. (Ed.). (1986). *Narrative Psychology: The storied nature of human conduct*. New York: Praeger.
- Schechter, S. (1988). Building bridges between activists, professionals and researchers. In K. Yllö & M. Bograd (Eds.), *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse* (pp. 299-312). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

- Schwartz, J. P., Waldo, M., & Daniel, D. (2005). Gender-role conflict and self-esteem: Factors associated with partner abuse in court-referred men. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*, 6(2), 109-113.
- Sciarra, D. (1999). The role of the qualitative researcher. In M. Kopala & L. Suzuki (Eds.), *Using qualitative methods in psychology* (pp. 37-48). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Scott, M. B., & Lyman, S. M. (1968). Accounts. *American Sociological Review*, 33, 46-62.
- Scott, K. L., & Wolfe, D. A. (2000). Change among batterers: Examining men's success stories. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 15, 827-842.
- Scott Tilley, D., & Brackley, M. (2005). Men who batter intimate partners: A grounded theory study of the development of male violence in intimate partner relationships. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing*, 26, 281-297.
- Scully, D. (1990). *Understanding sexual violence: A study of convicted rapists*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- Scully, D., & Marolla, J. (1984). Convicted rapists' vocabulary of motives: Excuses and justifications. *Social Problems*, 31, 530-544.
- Shakoor, B., & Chambers, D. (1991). Co-victimization of African American children who witness violence and the theoretical implications of its effect on their cognitive, emotional, and behavioural development. *Journal of the National Medical Association*, 83, 233-238.
- Shefer, T., Crawford, M., Strebel, A., Simbayi, L. C., Dwadwa-Henda, N., Cloete, A., Kaufman, M. K., & Kalichman, S. C. (2008). Gender, power and resistance to change among two communities in the Western Cape, South Africa. *Feminism Psychology*, 18, 157-182.
- Sheridan, M. J. (1995). A proposed intergenerational model of substance abuse, family functioning and abuse/neglect. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 19(5), 519-530.
- Singh, D. (2003). Intimate abuse - A study of repeat and multiple victimisation. *Acta Criminologica*, 16 (4), 34-51.
- Smiler, A. P. (2004). Thirty years after the discovery of gender: Psychological concepts and measures of masculinity. *Sex Roles*, 50(1/2), 15-26.
- Smith, J. A. (1996). Beyond the divide between cognition and discourse: Using interpretative phenomenological analysis in health psychology. *Psychology and Health*, 11, 261-271.
- Smith, J. A. (2003). *Qualitative psychology. A practical guide to research methods*. London: Sage.

- Smith, J. A., & Eatough, V. (2007). Interpretative phenomenological analysis. In E. Lyons & A. Coyle (Eds.), *Analysing qualitative data in psychology* (pp. 35-50). London: Sage.
- Smith, J. A., & Osborn (2003). Interpretative phenomenological analysis. In J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative psychology. A practical guide to research methods* (pp. 51-80). London: Sage.
- Smith, J. W. (2000). Addiction medicine and domestic violence. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 19(4), 329-338.
- Stark, E., & Flitcraft, A. (1996). *Women at risk: Domestic violence and women's health*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Story, L. (2007). Doing interpretative phenomenological analysis. In E Lyons & A. Coyle (Eds.), *Analysing qualitative data in psychology* (pp. 51-64). London: Sage.
- Story, L. B., & Repetti, R. (2006). Daily occupational stresses and mental behaviour. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 20(4), 690-700.
- Straus, M. A. (1979). Measuring intrafamily conflict and violence: The Conflict Tactics (CT) Scales. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 41, 75-88.
- Straus, M. A. (1990). Family patterns and primary prevention of family violence. In M. A. Straus & R. J. Gelles (Eds.), *Physical violence in American families: Risk factors and adaptations to violence in 8,145 Families* (pp. 507-526). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Straus, M. A., & Gelles, R. J. (1986). Societal change in family violence from 1975 to 1985 as revealed by two national surveys. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 48, 465-479.
- Szinovacz, M. E., & Egley, L. C. (1995). Comparing one-partner and couple data on sensitive marital behaviors: The Case of marital violence. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 57(4), 995-1010.
- Taft, C. T., Murphy, C. M., Elliot, J. D., & Morrel, M. (2001). Attendance-enhancing procedures in group counselling for domestic abusers. *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 48(1), 51-60.
- Tavuchis, N. (1991). *Mea culpa: A sociology of apology and reconciliation*. Stanford, CA: Standofrd University Press.
- Terre Blanche, M., & Durrheim, K. (Eds.). (1999). *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Terre Blanche, M., & Kelly, K. (1999). Interpretive methods. In M. Terre Blanche & K. Durrheim (Eds.), *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences* (pp. 123-146). Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

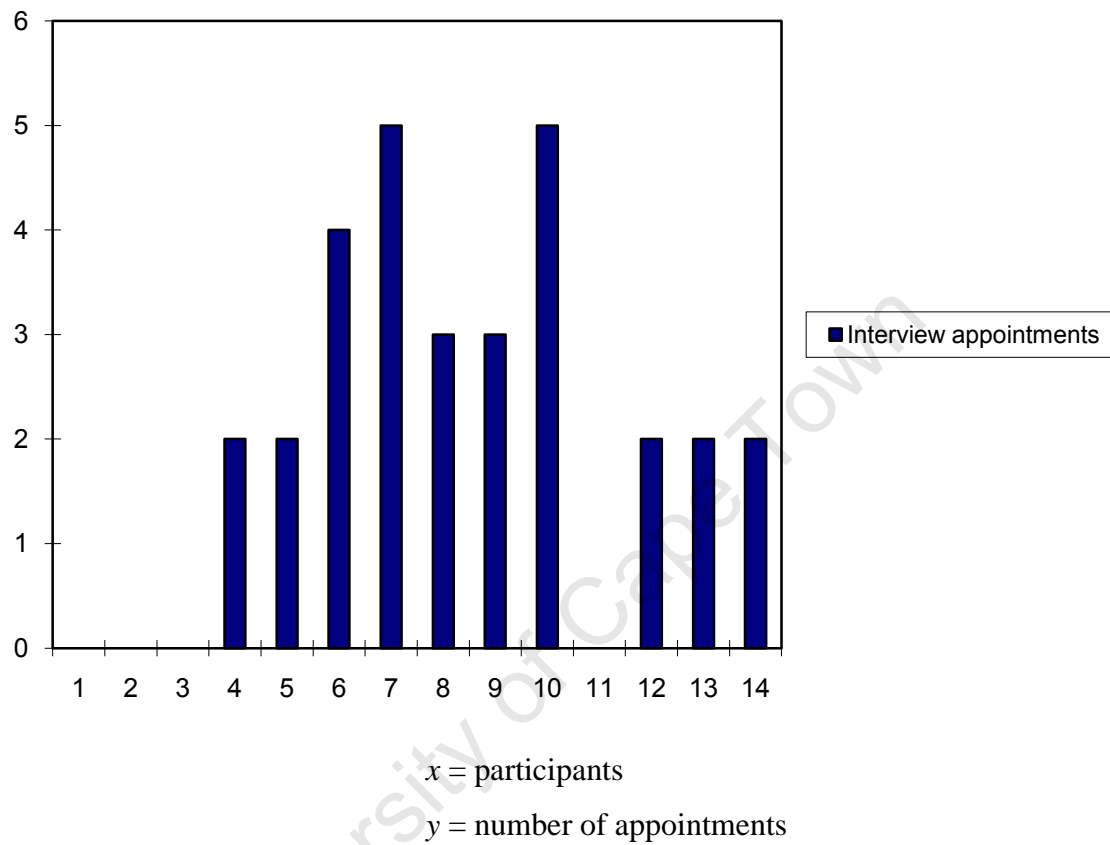
- Testa, M., Quigley, B. M., & Leonard, K. E. (2003). Does alcohol make a difference: Within-participants comparison of incidents of partner violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 18*, 735-743.
- Thomas, K. A., Joshi, M., Wittenberg, E., & McCloskey, L. A. (2008). Intersections of harm and health: A qualitative study of intimate partner violence in women's lives. *Violence Against Women, 14*, 1252-1273.
- Tolman, R. M., & Wang, H. (2005). Domestic violence and women's employment: Fixed effects models of three waves of women's employment study data. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 36*, 147-158.
- Umberson, D., Anderson, K., Glick, J., & Shapiro, A. (1998). Domestic violence, personal control, and gender. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 60*(2), 442-452.
- Usdin, S., Christofides, N., Malepe, L., & Maker, A. (1998). The value of advocacy in promoting social change: Implementing the new Domestic Violence Act in South Africa. *Reproductive Health Matters, 8*, 55-65.
- Vangelisti, A., Crumley, L., & Baker, J. (1999). Family portraits: Stories as standards for family relationships. *Journal of Social and Interpersonal Relationships, 16*(3), 335-368.
- Van Wormer, K., & Bednar, S. (2002). Working with male batterers: A restorative-strengths perspective. *Families in Society, 83*, 557-565.
- Vijayendra, R. (1997). Wife-beating in rural South India: A qualitative and economic analysis. *Social Sciences Medicine, 44*(8), 1169-1180.
- Vincent, L. (2006). Race and constructions of "rational-intellectual" masculinity ten years after Apartheid. *Men and Masculinities, 8*(3), 350-366.
- Vetten, L. (1996). "Man shoots wife". *A pilot study detailing intimate femicide in Gauteng, South Africa*.: University of the Witwatersrand. Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation Johannesburg.
- Walker, L. E. (1979). *The battered woman*. USA: Harper & Row Publishers Inc.
- Walker, L. E. (1999). Psychology and domestic violence around the world. *American Psychologist, 54*, 21-29.
- Walker, L., Butland, D., & Connell, R. (2000). Boys on the road: Masculinities, car culture, and road safety education. *The Journal of Men's Studies, 8*(2), 153-196.
- Wallace, R., & Nosko, A. (1993). Working with shame in group treatment of male batterers. *International Group Psychotherapy, 43*, 45-61.

- Wallace, R., & Nosko, A. (2003). Shame in male spouse abusers and its treatment in group therapy. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment and Trauma*, 7(1), 47-74.
- Wexler, D.B. (2000). *Domestic violence: An integrated skills program for men*. New York, USA: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Willig, C. (2001). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology. Adventures in theory and method*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Willig, C. (2008). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology*. London: Open University Press.
- Willig, C., & Stainton-Rogers, W. (2008). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in psychology*. London: Sage.
- Winstok, Z., & Eisikovits, Z. (2008). Motives and control in escalatory conflicts in intimate relationships. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 30, 287-296.
- Wood, J. T. (2001). The normalization of violence in heterosexual romantic relationships: Women's narratives of love and violence. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 18, 239-261.
- Wood, J. T. (2004). Monsters and victims: Male felons' accounts of intimate partner violence. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 21(5), 555-576.
- Wood, K., & Jewkes, R. (2001). 'Dangerous' love. Reflections on violence among Xhosa township youth. In R. Morrell (Ed.), *Changing men in southern Africa* (pp. 317-336). Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- World Health Organization. (2000). *Women's Mental Health: An evidence based review*. Geneva, Switzerland: The Author.
- World Health Organization. (2002). *World Report on Violence and Health: Violence by intimate partners*. Geneva, Switzerland: The Author.
- Yardley, L. (2008). Demonstrating validity in qualitative psychology. In J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative psychology. A practical guide to research methods* (2nd ed., pp. 235-251). London: Sage.
- Yllö, K., & Bograd, M. (Eds.). (1988). *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

APPENDICES

University of Cape Town

Appendix A: Appointment Attendance Record



- * The graph in Appendix A, highlights the number of appointments which took place before an interview was conducted. Participants who scheduled 5 interviews were eliminated from the study due to time constraints.

Appendix B: Demographic Summary

Participant *	Age	Race	Education	Employed	Years married	Current marital status	Children	Time in treatment (months)	Religion
1	35	C	Std 8	Y	16	Married	4	3	Muslim
2	45	W	Matric	Y	20	Divorced	3	3	Methodist
3	38	W	Diploma	Y	7	Divorced	0	6	Catholic
4	30	W	Matric	N	Unmarried	Unmarried	1	1.2	Christian
5	29	C	Matric	Y	1.5 months	Married	3	1	Muslim
6	35	C	Std 8	Y	3	Married	4	4	Muslim
7	28	C	N4 (Diploma)	Y	2 months	Married	1	4	Muslim
8	30	W	Matric	Y	Engaged - 6 years	Engaged	2	1	Anglican
9	43	B	Std 8	N	11	Married	8	5	Orthodox
10	30	C	Matric	Y	5	Married	0	2	Christian
11	36	W	Matric	Y	16	Married	3	2	Christian
12	35	C	Std 8	Y	9	Divorced	2	12	Methodist

* Names and pseudonyms have been removed to ensure confidentiality

Appendix C: Interview Schedule Guideline

Demographic information

- Age:
- Area where you live:
- Education:
- Tertiary education:
- Occupation:
- Years married:
- Previous marriage and lengths?
- Number of children, their ages and gender?
- Time receiving support from *name of rehabilitation facility*?
- Religious affiliation:
- Family History:
- Other:

Interview guide

The researcher welcomes the participant and thanks them for their participation.

The interview commences:

- The researcher welcomes the participant and briefly explains what the research is about (which would have been covered during informed consent).

Understanding domestic violence (general and situational specific)

- Could you describe your experience of domestic violence
 - What do you understand by the term 'domestic violence'?
 - How do you understand your situation?

Male perspective (gender roles stereotypes; attitudes towards partner)

- Could you describe your relationship with your partner
 - How would you describe your wife/ partner?
 - How is the relationship abusive and what happens?
 - Do you argue? What do you argue about?
 - What happens when you argue? Who does what?
 - What did it mean if you were right / wrong?

Understanding of behaviour (the way men understand their own behaviour)

- How do you understand your behaviour in situations where you have used violence against your wife / partner?
 - What thoughts were you experiencing during these acts of violence?

Meanings attached (what does this mean to them)

- What do you make of the argument when it's over?
 - What has attending the group meant to you?
 - What behaviour or experience brought you to the support group?
 - What has helped?
 - Has coming to *name of rehabilitation facility* helped changed things for you?

Closing statement

- Inform the participant that the interview is over.
- Briefly run through the main themes which have emerged and ask the participant if they have any questions.
- Thank the participant.

Appendix D: Informed Consent Session Plan

WHO AM I

- Psychology Masters Student at the University of Cape Town.
- I contacted [name of an NGO] to conduct research with men.
- I'm not affiliated with [name of an NGO] in any way and I'm purely here to conduct research.

WHAT WILL I BE DOING

- Conduct research on the experience of domestic violence from the male perspective / view.
- The research will be conducted using a 1 to 1.5 hour interview.

WHY THIS RESEARCH

- Research being conducted to:
 - Explore your experience or story;
 - Explore the way you understand the things that have happened and your behaviour;
 - Learn more about you.

CONFIDENTIALITY

- All participation is entirely confidential = remains between you and I.
- Interviews often recorded during research and these interviews will also be recorded for transcription.
- Your participation in no way affect your involvement in the programme at [name of an NGO] and will only be assessed by myself and my supervisor – Dr Boonzaier who is based at UCT.
- The results will be written up in a scientific journal.
- Pseudonyms will be used to ensure anonymity.

WHAT TO EXPECT

- Expect a conversational interview.
- Take place at [name of an NGO] (before this meeting or at another time which is convenient for you and I).
- During the interview you could be emotional, and end of with a better understanding of your situation which you have come up with.

WHAT IS REQUIRED

- Attend 1 appointment at the agreed time.
- Sign and understand the consent form before the interview.
- Don't discuss the interview with your peers until all the interviews are over – at which we will all discuss them together if this is what the group feels comfortable with.
- Honesty.

QUESTIONS AND CLOSING STATEMENT

- Ask you all to complete the Tags and return them even if you do not wish to participate.
- Tags require your name, contact number and if you could indicate YES, No or MAYBE in the other section to state whether you would like to participate.
- I'll then contact you to arrange a time for the interview but please feel free to contact me first should you wish to do so.
- I'd like to thank you all in advance and I look forward to working with each of you.

Appendix E: Informed Consent Letter

INFORMATION CONSENT LETTER FOR INTERVIEW STUDY

Date: Thursday 12th July 2007

Dear participant

I am a Masters student in the Department of Psychology at the University of Cape Town under the supervision of Dr Floretta Boonzaier. I am conducting research on the experience of domestic violence from the male perpetrators perspective and you are invited to participate in the study.

I would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail if you decide to take part. The purpose of this study is to explore meaning, understanding and share your experience of domestic violence. Participation in this study is voluntary. It will involve an interview of approximately 1 to 2 hours in length, which will take place at [name of rehabilitation facility]. You may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish and you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time. With your permission, the interview will be tape-recorded to facilitate the collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis. A copy of the transcribed interview can be arranged for you.

All the information you provide is COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL and your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study. With your permission anonymous quotations may be used. Data collected will be retained for the duration of the study. Only researchers associated with this project will have access. There are no known or anticipated risks to you as a participant in this study.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me at (telephone number) or by email at dnlmat001@uct.ac.za. You can also contact my supervisor, Dr Floretta Boonzaier at (telephone number) and email Floretta.Boonzaier@uct.ac.za.

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethical clearance through the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Cape Town. However, the final decision about participation is yours.

I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your assistance in this project.

Yours Sincerely,
Matthew Daniel

Appendix F: Participant Informed Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Matthew Daniel of the Department of Psychology at the University of Cape Town. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be tape recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher. My participation in the research will have no impact on the services I receive from [*name of rehabilitation facility*].

This project has been reviewed by, and received ethical clearance through the Ethics Board at the University of Cape Town.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

☐ YES ☐ NO

I agree to have my interview tape-recorded.

☐ YES ☐ NO

I agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.

☐ YES ☐ NO

Participant Name: _____ (Please print)

Participant Signature: _____

Witness Name: _____ (Please print)

Witness Signature: _____ Date: _____

University of Cape Town

Appendix G: Demographic Questionnaire

Participant Number:

Demographic information

Demographic information

1. Age

2. Area where you live

3. Highest Education

4. Tertiary education - Yes or No

.....

5. Occupation

.....

6. Years married

.....

7. Previous marriage and lengths?

.....

.....

8. Number of children, their ages and gender?

.....
.....

9. Time receiving support from *name of rehabilitation facility*?

.....

10. Religious affiliation

.....

University of Cape Town